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THE
EARLY HISTORY OF
THE DECCAN

PARTS VII-XI

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PART VII

THE EASTERN CHĀḶUKYAS

by PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI and DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

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THE EASTERN CHĀḶUKYAS

I

HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY

PULAKĒŚIN II conquered the whole of the Eastern Deccan quite early in his reign and thereupon appointed his brother viceroy of the newly acquired territory. Very soon the viceroyalty developed into an independent kingdom without any opposition by Pulakēśin, and his brother, Viṣṇuvardhana, who is referred to invariably as 'the hump-back' (*kubja*) in all later inscriptions, became the founder of a line which outlived the main dynasty for many generations and is known to history as that of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. Few Indian families, indeed, have held the throne for such a long period; they were lords of the Vengi country for nearly five centuries before their destiny called them to a Tamil kingdom in the south, and they continued to hold Vengi for several generations even after that; they were in fact the makers of the Telugu culture and literature.

The very numerous copper-plate charters, together with a smaller number of stone inscriptions, form our main sources for the history of the dynasty. From the reign of Vijayāditya III Guṇaga onwards (the second half of the ninth century) the charters cover practically the entire history of the dynasty down to the date of each particular record; the genealogical connexions, the duration of each reign, and a sketch of the main political occurrences, are thus found in many versions which in fact exhibit a remarkable measure of overall agreement; some discrepancies indeed there are; but a detailed discussion of these, or of the minute questions of chronology arising from astronomical details preserved in the inscriptions, should be held to fall outside the scope of this general history; in the account which follows we shall present the results of our study of the evidence, adding merely the outlines of the main arguments in support of these where such appear necessary, and for chronology we shall follow the data set forth by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, who has revised the conclusions reached by Fleet in 1891 in the light of discoveries which have accumulated since that time.

The kingdom of Vengi, as it came to be called in the course of time, comprised at its greatest extent the whole area between the Mahendra mountains in Kalinga and the Maṇṇeru river in Nellore;¹ its western boundary ran in general along the foot of the Eastern ghats, though temporary extensions often brought areas farther west under the rulers of Vengi from time to time. Eastern Chāḷukya history is at times largely the record of disputes about the succession in which for some time the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the Chāḷukyas of

¹ *Et*, vi, 342.

Kalyāṇi from the west, and later the Chōlas from the south, interfered, not always altogether disinterestedly; the Gangas of Kalinga as well as of Mysore, and the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa and Mudugoṇḍa, also find a place in the picture from time to time.

Kubja Vishṇuvardhana

By the date when the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin were being issued (A.D. 631), his brother Vishṇuvardhana had many successes in the Eastern Deccan to his credit and had already become virtually independent. This seems to be the meaning of the statement that he had secured the kingdom for his son, and the eighteen years uniformly allotted to him in all later charters may be taken to be covered by the period A.D. 624-41. He had acquired the titles Vishamasiddhi (one who has attained successes in difficult enterprises), a name he is said to have owed to his great ability in taking all types of impregnable fortresses, and Makaradhvaja and Kāmadeva, both words denoting the Indian Cupid—epithets which would seem to convey a satire on his person if he really was a cripple. The two copper-plate records of grants which he issued as an independent ruler both come from the Vizagapatam District; one of them is dated in the eighteenth year of his reign, while the other, bearing no date, was given at Pishtapura. It is a reasonable inference that a part of Kalinga was included in Vishṇuvardhana's kingdom; but traces of his rule farther south are not wanting, and if the Vishṇukuṇḍins continued their rule in Vengi (Dendaluru) under Mādhava III or his son Mañcaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka, they must have done so as vassals of a superior power in the same way as did the Durjayas of the forest country to the north of their territory.¹ An archaic rock inscription of Vishamasiddhi from Chezarla in the Guntur District may well be a record of his reign.² But even if this be doubted, there is the explicit statement in an inscription of A.D. 1132, also from the Guntur District, that Buddharāja, the founder of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi family, was employed by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, and obtained from him as a reward for his services the rulership of a district comprising seventy-three villages.³ And beside this the land which formed the subject of Pulakēśin's gift recorded on the Kopparam plates was situated in Karma-rāshṭra, also part of the Guntur and Nellore territories.⁴ There is in fact little doubt that Vishṇuvardhana I became eventually the ruler of very nearly the whole of the Vengi kingdom of which the extent has been indicated above. The wars between his brother Pulakēśin and the Pallava Nara-simhavarman I may perhaps have given him his opportunity for increasing his own holdings in the south.

Late inscriptions say that a general Kālakampa of the Paṭṭavardhana family

¹ Atavi Durjaya of the Matsya family figures as the *ajñapti* in the Chīpurapallē Plates, *I.A.*, xx, 15.

² 154 of 1899, *ARE*, 1900, para. 35.

³ 214 of 1892, also *EI*, vi, 269-70.

⁴ *EI*, xviii, 257-8.

slew a bitter personal enemy, Daddura by name, on the field of battle and seized his insignia under the orders of Vishṇuvardhana;¹ we hear of Kālakampa's successors under later monarchs, but do not know who Daddura was. Ayyaṇa-mahādevī appears to have been the queen of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and was named as his executrix in one of the king's grants, as we learn from an inscription of one of his descendants, Vishṇuvardhana III, which renewed the original grant of a village to a Jaina temple, Naḍumbibasadi, originally built by the queen at Bezwada. This document is also interesting as the earliest known mention of Jainism in the Telugu country.²

Jayasimha I

Vishṇuvardhana was followed on the throne by his sons Jayasimha Vallabha I and Indra Bhāṭṭāraka. Jayasimha had a long reign of thirty-three years, A.D. 641–73; several records exist of grants dated in his reign, but otherwise we have little information as to its history. A *ghaṭikā*, college of higher education, is said to have been functioning at Asanapura from which the king issued one of his decrees. Like his father, Jayasimha was a Bhāgavata; he held the title Sarvasiddhi, successful in everything, and his learning is highly praised. An epigraph on stone at Vipparla, dated in the eighth year of his reign, is among the earliest known Telugu inscriptions.³ He was followed by his younger brother Indra Bhāṭṭāraka, whose rule was cut short by a combination of hostile princes headed by an Adhirāja Indra whose identity is difficult to establish.⁴ There is a decree for a grant issued by Indra Bhāṭṭāraka in which he is given the title Tyāgadhenu (cow of liberality).⁵ His own reign is generally said to have lasted only seven days, but his son Vishṇuvardhana II occupied the throne for nine years, bore the titles Vishamasiddhi, Pralayāditya, and others, and was followed in turn by his son Mangi Yuvarāja, who was entitled Vijayāditya and Vijayasiddhi, and who ruled for twenty-five years, A.D. 682–706. Both Vishṇuvardhana II and Mangi Yuvarāja seem to have been grown-up princes even during the reign of their uncle Jayasimha I; Vishṇuvardhana indeed calls himself the son of Jayasimha in one of his inscriptions—this of course is not intended to be taken in the literal sense.

Mangi Yuvarāja, Vijayasiddhi, ruled for twenty-five years (A.D. 682–706) and his son, Jayasimha II Sarvasiddhi, for thirteen (A.D. 706–18). After Jayasimha's reign there seems to have occurred the first dispute about succession between his surviving half-brothers; the younger one Kokkili seized the throne and held it for six months before yielding it up to the elder Vishṇuvardhana III. The quarrel apparently ended in a compromise by which Kokkili was allowed to rule a portion of territory surrounding Elamanchi

¹ *SII*, i, 40.

² 147 of 1899.

³ *El*, xviii, 3.

⁴ *CP*, no. 9 of 1916–17.

⁵ *IA*, xx, 97; *JBBRAS*, xvi, 117.

in Middle Kalinga as his appanage. We have evidence that this collateral line continued to hold this district for at least four generations,¹ including the lifetime of Kokkili, who assumed the title Vijayasiddhi for the short period during which he reigned as king of Vengi. It is perhaps worth noting that Kokkili was also one of the titles held by the Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya I,² an elder contemporary of Mangi Yuvarāja.

Vishṇuvardhana III

After he had driven out his usurping younger brother, Vishṇuvardhana III occupied the throne for a long time, enjoying a reign of thirty-seven years (A.D. 719-55). A number of decrees for grants issued during his reign have come to light and several of these are interesting in one way or another. One renewing an early grant by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana has been noticed already in our account of that king's reign. In another the queen of Vishṇuvardhana III, Vijayamahādēvī, appears as the executrix (*ājñapti*), and the king himself is described by the title Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa (an elephant goad to the three worlds) in the colophon to the grant.³ A third inscription records a grant by Prithivī Poṛi, a daughter of Mangi Yuvarāja and therefore sister of Vishṇuvardhana III.⁴ This king had the title Vishamasiddhi. It was in his reign that one of his officers, a Nishāda Bōya chieftain named Prithivī-Vyāghra, came into conflict with the celebrated Pallava general Udayachandra who defeated him in the battle of Nellore, capturing many elephants and much booty and securing a part of Vishṇurāja's territory for the Pallava monarch Nandivarman II.⁵ Such is the Pallava version of what took place; Prithivī-Vyāghra could obviously not have entered on his conflict with the powerful kingdom in the south without Vishṇuvardhana's consent and both rulers suffered for it. But it was more of the nature of a skirmish on the frontier leading indeed to some loss of territory, but with little tangible effect on the strength or stability of the Vengi kingdom.

Vishṇuvardhana III was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya I, Vijayasiddhi, who ruled for eighteen years (A.D. 755-72). At the close of his father's reign and the beginning of his own there occurred in the Western Deccan the political revolution by which the Chālukyas of Bādāmi lost their dominion and were succeeded by the Rāshtrakūṭas under Dantidurga. The enmity of the new line to the Chālukyas soon began to manifest itself against the Vengi kingdom also. A Rāshtrakūṭa inscription of A.D. 769 states that Yuvarāja Govinda II had led an expedition against the Vengimaṇḍala,⁶ and had received the submission of the ruler of Vengi offered to him in his victorious camp at the confluence of the Musī and the Krishṇā rivers, together with the

¹ CP, 10 and 11 of 1908-9, ARE, 1909, ii, 55-7.

² EI, xiv, 148.

³ CP, 10 of 1919-20; EI, xviii, 58.

⁴ EI, vi, 210-11.

⁵ CP, 9 of 1913-14.

⁶ SHI, ii, 368.

surrender of treasure, troops, and terrain. This statement, even if taken at its face value, does not show that Vengi suffered any serious deprivation on this occasion. The Rāshtrakūṭa forces did not enter the Vengi kingdom and there was no actual clash of arms. On the other hand, the successful march of the Yuvarāja to the frontiers of the Vengi kingdom, where he was obviously met by ambassadors from his rival's court, was a shadow cast by coming events on the fortunes of the Eastern Chālukyas.

Vishṇuvardhana IV

Vijayāditya's son was Vishṇuvardhana IV who ruled for thirty-six years (A.D. 772-808). Early in his reign he became involved in the dispute between Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda II and his younger brother Dhruva, and took the side of Govinda, the ruling sovereign, against his rebellious brother. But Dhruva emerged as the victor; after seizing the throne for himself he set out to punish the supporters of Govinda, among them the ruler of Vengi. In his expedition against the Eastern Chālukya kingdom, Dhruva was well served by Arikesari I, the Chālukya feudatory of Vemulavāḍa. Vishṇuvardhana was forced to admit defeat and to make his peace with Dhruva by offering him the hand of his daughter Śīlamahādēvī, who became that ruler's chief queen.¹ The subordinate relation of Vengi to the Rāshtrakūṭas continued after the reign of Dhruva under his son Govinda III whose inscriptions claim that the ruler of Vengi was ever ready to carry out his suzerain's behests with alacrity;² the statement that he helped to build the surrounding wall of his suzerain's camp has sometimes been understood to refer to the fortification of Mānyakhēṭa. Vishṇuvardhana IV had three sons, two being Vijayāditya II and Bhīma Saluki who quarrelled over the succession, and the third, the son of a Haihaya princess, Rudra by name, who took the side of Vijayāditya.

Vijayāditya II

Vijayāditya II was a great warrior who waged fierce wars against the Rāshtrakūṭas and their allies for many years. He was known by the titles Narendramṅgarāja (the lion among kings), Chālukya-Rāma, and Vikramadhavala (of shining valour). He is credited with a reign of forty years (A.D. 808-47),³ and these were filled with strife and contention. He resented the hold of the Rāshtrakūṭas over Vengi, and they in turn treated him as a rebel and found a convenient tool in his half-brother Bhīma Saluki whom they set up as his rival. So long as Govinda III was aided by vassals like the Western Gangas and the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa, things went badly for Vijayāditya; but when Govinda died about A.D. 814, leaving a child Amoghavarsha I on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne, Vijayāditya gained the upper hand,

¹ *El*, xii, 107, ll. 36-9.

² *JAHRS*, ix, 28.

³ *El*, vi, 244-5, v. 19.

defeated the Gangas, deposed Bhīma Saluki, and regained the kingdom; he also overran considerable parts of the Rāshtrakūṭa country.¹

Later inscriptions say of Vijayāditya that he fought 108 battles against the Gangas and Raṭṭas, incessantly, night and day, for twelve years with sword in hand, and that he also erected 108 Śiva temples called Narendreśvaras after his title. This number 108 is obviously conventional and not to be understood literally; the twelve years may well be the duration of Bhīma Saluki's sycophancy. Vijayāditya was assisted in his wars by his son Vishṇuvardhana V, who for that reason came to bear the surname Kali (War); Vishṇuvardhana married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śīlamahādēvī, probably of the Gujarāt branch, but reigned for only about a year and a half after his father's death.

Vijayāditya III Guṇaga

On the death of Kali Vishṇuvardhana, or Vishṇuvardhana V, after his short period as king, his eldest son Vijayāditya III, better known as Guṇaga Vijayāditya, ascended the throne in A.D. 849 and ruled the kingdom for forty-four years. He had several titles of which Guṇake-nallāṭa (the lover of excellence or virtue), Parachakra-Rāma (Rāma amid the circle of his enemies), Tripura-martya-maheśvara (the mortal *maheśvara* to the three cities), and Vallabha (the lord) are the most important. Three well-defined stages are clearly noticeable in the history of his reign: (1) It began with a short period of victory and expansion; (2) then followed a disastrous defeat and prolonged subjection to foreign rule; and (3) the end was again a period of brilliant military victories leading to the assumption of imperial authority over the whole of the Deccan.

As soon as he had ascended the throne, Vijayāditya III had to send an expedition against the Bōya-Koṭṭams—the districts inhabited by the Bōyas in the south. The Bōyas were a race of hardy warriors who occupied the northern marches of the Pallava kingdom corresponding to the present Nellore District, and they offered stubborn resistance to the advance of the Chālukyan arms in the south. Though their country appears to have been overrun and brought within the pale of the Eastern Chālukya territory some time before the accession of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, their power was not completely broken. The death of Vishṇuvardhana V, and the accession of his youthful son, inspired them with fresh hope of regaining their freedom. They refused to obey his orders and attempted to assert their independence.

Vijayāditya III, who was a strong and powerful monarch, could not brook this defiance of his authority. He resolved to put down the rebellion with a stern hand and to chastise the Bōyas for their insolence. He dispatched an army under Paṇḍaranga, the son of Kaḍeyarāja, with instructions to demolish the strongholds of the Bōyas and to subjugate their country. Two important

¹ ARE, 1912, ii, 62; 1918, ii, 4 ff.; SII, i, 39.

forts, Kaṭṭem and Nellore, where the rebels had concentrated their forces, are mentioned in this connexion. The hand of the invader fell heavily on both. Paṇḍaranga dismantled the former and reduced the latter to ashes. He advanced triumphantly to the frontier of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and halted on the shore of the Pulicat lake, where he founded a new township called Paṇḍarangam and built a temple in honour of Śiva, Paṇḍaranga Maheśvara, both named after himself.¹

Paṇḍaranga's expedition against the Bōya-Koṭṭams was not a mere military raid. It resulted in the permanent annexation of the south-eastern Telugu country which had probably been until that time a fief of the Pallavas. The kingdom of Vengi increased in extent; and Paṇḍaranga, on whom the king seems to have bestowed the governorship of the conquered territory, established himself at Kandukur in the Nellore District, which he is said to have made as famous as Bezvada, the Eastern Chālukya capital.²

Vijayāditya was next involved in a war with a chief called Rāhaṇa; nothing is known about the identity of this individual or the country over which he bore sway. Paṇḍaranga worsted him in battle, and won a great victory for his master.³

The series of victories which marked the opening years of Vijayāditya's reign was, however, broken by a serious reverse. Although Vijayāditya was, through his mother Śīlamahādēvī, the daughter of Indravallabha, the younger brother of Govinda III and a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa royal family, he yet came into conflict with his cousin Amoghavarsha I some time subsequent to his victory over Rāhaṇa. The circumstances leading up to the war are not clearly known. Flushed with victory over the Bōyas and Rāhaṇa, Vijayāditya attacked and destroyed Stambhapurī, the modern Cumbum in the Kurnool District, which was then included in the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions. This inroad naturally provoked reprisals. Amoghavarsha sent an expedition to Vengi to chastise Vijayāditya and reduce him to subjection. The two armies met at Vingāvalli, a village which probably stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cumbum, and a sanguinary battle took place. The Eastern Chālukya forces sustained a crushing defeat, and Vijayāditya was obliged to submit to Amoghavarsha I and to acknowledge him as his liege and sovereign.⁴

Vijayāditya could not easily shake off the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke thus imposed on him, and it was not until the death of Amoghavarsha I about A.D. 880 that he was able to regain his independence. His loss of independence and submission to the Rāshtrakūṭa authority did not, however, completely curtail his military activity. He did not embark, it is true, on any war on his own account, but he joined the forces of his overlord and rendered him valuable service against the rebellions of the feudatories who attempted to overthrow his power. Nītimārga Permānaḍi, the Western Ganga king of Talakāḍ,

¹ NDI, i, G. 86-105.

² *Bhārati*, v (i), 619.

³ EI, xix, 275.

⁴ EI, vi, 103; ix, 39; xviii, 246.

stirred up a rebellion in Gangavāḍi about A.D. 866 and asserted his independence.¹ Several of the Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories, specially the Pallava chiefs of Nolambavāḍi, following his example, repudiated the imperial authority and made common cause with him. The situation became so formidable that Amoghavarsha was obliged to send Bankeya Sellaketana, the commander of the imperial *mūlabala*, to the south with all the forces available. Though Bankeya was successful in the war against the rebels, and won several victories over them, he was recalled by his master before he could finish off the campaign and was dispatched to the north, owing to a rising in Lāṭa in which the crown prince Kṛishṇa, the future Kṛishṇa II, was somehow involved. Amoghavarsha did not, however, allow the Ganga king and his confederates to carry on their rebellion unchecked. He ordered Vijayāditya III to proceed to Gangavāḍi with his army to suppress the rebels and restore the imperial authority. Vijayāditya set out accordingly and marched at the head of his forces towards Gangavāḍi. When he arrived at the frontiers of Nolambavāḍi which lay on his route, he found that his path was barred by Mangi (Nolambādhirāja I), the king of the Nolambas and the ally of Nitimārga Permāṇḍi. A fierce engagement took place in which the Eastern Chālukya army gained a complete victory thanks to the counsels of Vinayaḍi Śarman, Vijayāditya's military adviser. Mangi was slain in the fight, and the way being thus freed from obstacles, Vijayāditya advanced upon Gangavāḍi and inflicted a severe defeat on the Ganga army which had taken refuge on the lofty summit of the Gangākūṭa, i.e. the Śivaganga hill in the Nelamangala *tāluk* of the present Bangalore District in Mysore State.² The back of the Ganga rebellion was thus broken, and Nitimārga Permāṇḍi was obliged to make peace with Amoghavarsha I.

The death of Amoghavarsha I, which took place about A.D. 880, gave an excellent opportunity to Vijayāditya III to repudiate the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy and reassert his independence. Kṛishṇa II, who ascended the Rāshtrakūṭa throne on the death of his father, was not popular and it is not unlikely that owing to his unfilial conduct he had failed to secure the allegiance of his *sāmantas*, especially those administering the southern provinces of his kingdom. In any case it would seem clear that Kṛishṇa II had to depend upon the aid of the Chedi king Sankila (Śankaragaṇa) throughout his struggle with Vijayāditya III.

The Dharmavaram epigraph which describes the wars waged by Paṇḍa-ranga in the service of his king and master implies that Vijayāditya was engaged in a war with Kṛishṇa II on two different occasions. Kṛishṇa II accompanied by his ally and brother-in-law Sankila (Śankaragaṇa) above mentioned, the Chedi ruler of Dāhala, seems to have made an attack upon Vijayāditya, but having sustained a defeat in the battle, he had to leave his dominions, and seek safety in the court of his ally at Kiraṇapura in distant

¹ *El*, vi, 30-31.

² *El*, ix, 47.

Dāhala. Vijayāditya, greatly encouraged by his victory over the Rāshtrakūṭa forces, next planned an expedition against Dāhala and dispatched it under the command of his able general Paṇḍaranga. The details of this campaign and the route followed by the Eastern Chālukya forces are not, it is true, fully recorded; but with the help of fragments of information which occur sporadically in the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions it is not impossible to trace the probable course of their march and to reconstruct the history of the campaign.¹ The expedition set out most probably from Vengi and marched through Kalinga towards the passes in the Eastern Ghats leading to Southern Kosala and the central Indian plateau. The advance of Vijayāditya's army was not, however, unobstructed. Several princes, mostly the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Chedi monarchs whose territories lay along Paṇḍaranga's route, took up arms against him and impeded the progress of the expedition; but the military genius of Paṇḍaranga triumphed over all his enemies and surmounted every obstacle. The kings of Kalinga and Kosala and the Chālukya chief of Vemulavāḍa in the north of Telingana, who attempted to oppose his advance and turn back the invasion, were worsted in the field and had to yield place to him and allow him to march forward. He arrived at last in the Chedi dominions, devastated Dāhala and Dalenāḍ, defeated Krishṇa and Sankila in battle, and set fire to Kiranapura and Achalapura, the principal cities of the Dāhala kingdom. Vijayāditya's victory was complete, and Krishṇa, unable to offer further resistance, laid down his arms and sued for peace. Vijayāditya, who did not entertain any territorial ambitions at this point, satisfied himself by the assertion of his supremacy. He took over from the vanquished monarch the *pāli* banner, the symbols of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā which constituted the insignia of Rāshtrakūṭa imperialism, assumed the title Vallabha, and proclaimed himself the lord paramount of the entire Dakṣiṇāpatha together with the Trikalinga country. Krishṇa II met him in person, rendered him homage as a vassal and propitiated him by offering worship to his arms. Vijayāditya, who was evidently pleased with the Rāshtrakūṭa for the unique honour which he had thus shown him, restored his kingdom to him and returned to Vengi in great triumph.

The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions attribute to Vijayāditya III victories over several southern kings beside those mentioned already. The Dharmavaram epigraph, for instance, alludes to the protection which his general Paṇḍaranga offered to a Chola king who had been reduced to helplessness by an unnamed invader, and the Sataluru grant refers to his wars with the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas. The circumstances under which Vijayāditya came into conflict with the rulers of the south are nowhere recorded; nor has any account of the incidents of his campaigns against them come down to us.

Vijayāditya III was the greatest monarch who ever sat upon the throne of

¹ *Bhārati*, v (i), 619; *JTA*, xi, 241; iii, 407; *CP*, no. 13 of 1917-18; *JAHRS*, xi, 80 ff. Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Library, 15-6-26, i, 348-58.

Vengi. During his reign the Eastern Chālukya kingdom extended from the Mahendragiri in the north to the Pulicat lake in the south. He was a great warrior, and though for a time he was constrained to submit to the Rāshtrakūṭa authority, he recovered his power soon after the death of Amoghavarsha I, and turned the tables so completely on Kṛishṇa II that the latter was compelled to acknowledge him as his overlord and the emperor of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and to render him homage. Some of the ancestors of Vijayāditya III, especially his grandfather Narendramṛgarāja, had no doubt waged war relentlessly on the Rāshtrakūṭas and even won victories over them, but none had ever succeeded in reducing them to submission and exacting from them tribute and homage as Guṇaga did. The success of Vijayāditya must be attributed to a great extent to the skill and ability of the Brāhman officers in his service, especially the celebrated general Paṇḍaranga, the greatest military genius of the age. This commander distinguished himself early in the reign during the southern campaign against the Bōyas, and took a prominent part in defeating the enemies of the Chola and restoring him to his kingdom. The most brilliant achievement of his career, however, was the Dāhala campaign, in the course of which he inflicted defeat after defeat on his enemies and reduced the mightiest monarch of the Deccan to abject submission.

After a long reign of forty-four years Vijayāditya III breathed his last in A.D. 892. He had no sons, and his younger brother Vikramāditya whom he had chosen as the heir-apparent predeceased him, leaving behind a son Bhīma to whom the crown passed on the death of his uncle.

Chālukya Bhīma I

On the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, his nephew Chālukya Bhīma I succeeded him as we have just said. His right to the throne was, however, questioned by his *dāyādas* (agnates), especially by his paternal uncle Yuddhamalla I, who, too weak to seize power by their own efforts, sought and obtained the help of the hereditary foe of their family, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. Kṛishṇa, who was smarting under the humiliation of his recent defeats at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, eagerly seized the opportunity and invaded Vengi with a large force even before Bhīma could celebrate his coronation.¹ The details of the invasion are not fully recorded. However, two or three incidents stand out prominently: (1) the Rāshtrakūṭas at the outset carried everything before them, defeated the Eastern Chālukya army, and occupied the greater part of the kingdom; (2) in one of the engagements fought in the heart of the Vengi country Chālukya Bhīma I was himself taken prisoner. The inscriptions of the Chālukya chiefs of Vēmulavāḍa and the *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* of Pampa clearly state that Baddega, who was a contemporary and subordinate of Kṛishṇa II, captured Bhīma.² Chālukya

¹ *Telingana inscriptions*, OI, no. 12.

² *Journ. of the Madras University*, xv, 114-16.

Bhīma I, however, soon regained his freedom, though it is not possible to state how he eluded his captor; (3) the success of the Rāshtrakūṭas was not permanent. Though Kṛishṇa II had the *dāyādas* of Chālukya Bhīma I on his side, the *sāmāntas* and the hereditary servants of the Eastern Chālukya royal family rallied under Kusumāyudha I, the chief of the Chālukyas of Mudugonda, to the aid of Chālukya Bhīma I, and having driven out Kṛishṇa II and his allies from the kingdom, restored it to its lawful master. When the country was thus cleared of the invaders, and Chālukya Bhīma I was firmly established on his ancestral throne, he celebrated his coronation ceremony on Mesha-Chaitra, ba 2 of Śaka 814, corresponding to 14 April A.D. 892, and assumed the official name of Vishṇuvardhana.

Kṛishṇa II did not, however, give up his designs upon the Eastern Chālukya dominions. A few years later he sent another expedition under his intrepid general Daṇḍena Guṇḍaya, comprising forces from Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa. The expedition penetrated into the heart of the kingdom and reached the outskirts of the capital of Vengi. The Chālukya army under Irimarti-gaṇḍa, the king's brave son and heir-apparent, opposed them near Niravadyapura, the modern Nidadavolu, in the East Godavari District, and inflicted a defeat on them. In another engagement near Peru-Vaṅgūru-grāma (Peda-Vanguru in the Ellore *tāluk* of the Western Godavari District) Daṇḍena Guṇḍaya was killed, and the Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa forces were scattered. Vengi had once again been saved from foreign domination; but the valiant prince who led the Chālukya forces to battle also perished in the fight, leaving his disconsolate father to gather the fruits of victory alone.¹

The remaining years of the reign of Chālukya Bhīma I were uneventful. He was devoted to the worship of Śiva and built temples in honour of the god at Chālukya-Bhīmavaram and Drākshārāmam in the Eastern Godavari District.² Chālukya Bhīma ruled for thirty years and died in A.D. 921, leaving the kingdom to Vijayāditya IV, the eldest of his surviving sons.

Vijayāditya IV

Vijayāditya IV, surnamed Kollabhigaṇḍa, ruled only for a period of six months. Short as it was, however, his reign was not uneventful. As soon as he ascended the throne he found it necessary to lead an expedition into Kalinga. The circumstances in which he was thus obliged to invade Kalinga are unknown to us. Very probably the Eastern Gangas under their energetic king Vajrahasta III had repudiated the Eastern Chālukya supremacy and asserted their independence. However that may have been, we know that Kollabhigaṇḍa penetrated into Kalinga at the head of his army and overthrew the enemy who had opposed him near the city of Viraja.³ The victory, however, was transformed into a disaster owing to Vijayāditya's death either

¹ ARE, 1914, pt. ii, para. 6.

² EI, iv, 240; JTA, xi, 251.

³ ARE, 1917, pt. ii, para. 26; 1918, pt. ii, para. 5.

in the battle itself or immediately afterwards. The army, deprived of its leader, had to turn back, and the nobles and officers hastened homewards to take part in the anticipated war of succession.

The death of Vijayāditya IV marks the beginning of a period of struggles for the supreme power and of civil war. Kings followed one another in a rapid and bewildering series. Within the short space of a dozen years Vengi passed in turn under the rule of no fewer than six monarchs, none of whom had either the strength or the ability to dominate and control the government. The situation was further aggravated by the appearance of foreign invaders who found it convenient thus to profit by the disturbed conditions.

Amma I

Amma I Rājamahendra, the son of Vijayāditya IV, first proclaimed himself king after the death of his father. His right to rule the kingdom was, however, disputed by his paternal uncle Vikramāditya II who rebelled against his nephew and made a bid for the throne. Amma's feudatory relatives thereupon renounced their allegiance to him and obtained help from the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III. The hereditary forces which were normally available for the service of the family also deserted Amma and made common cause with the enemy. The situation was indeed serious. Amma I, however, was a brave prince. He faced his enemies boldly and with the help of a few officers who remained faithful to him he mastered his difficulties and established himself firmly on the throne.¹ Amma I ruled the kingdom for seven years and died in the fullness of his power in A.D. 927. It is sometimes stated that he laid the foundations on the banks of the Godavari of a new city called after him Rajamahendrapura (Rajahmandry) which became the capital of Vengi under his successors;² but the evidence available in support of this view is but meagre, and there is in fact no real proof that he ever transferred the headquarters of his government from the old capital.

Short Reigns

Amma I was succeeded by his young son Vijayāditya V referred to frequently in the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions as Beta or Kaṇṭhikā Vijayāditya. A mere lad at the time of his succession, Beta was not equal to the task of governing the kingdom in that turbulent age. Within a fortnight of his coronation he was ousted from the throne and was compelled to take refuge in the fort of Piṭhāpura, where he became the founder of a local dynasty. Tāla I, son of Yuddhamalla I, seized the kingdom, probably with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas. He was not, however, destined to rule long. Scarcely had a month elapsed when Vikramāditya II, who had been struggling to reach the throne during the previous eight years, attacked him and put him

¹ *SII*, i, nos. 36, 38.

² *JAHRS*, iii, 144-59.

to death.¹ This Vikramāditya was an energetic prince. During the brief period of eleven months for which he ruled the kingdom, he recovered Trikalīṅga, which had been lost after the death of Chālukya Bhīma I.² At the end of that time he was assassinated, according to the Digumārṇu grant, the only record which alludes to the incident, by Bhīma, one of the sons of Amma I. Bhīma ruled the kingdom for eight months, and was then overthrown in his turn by Yuddhamalla II, the son of Tāla I.

Yuddhamalla II

The success of Yuddhamalla II was in no small measure due to the help which he received from the Rāshtrakūṭa court. Indra III, who was anxious to bring Vengi within the pale of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, took advantage of the disorderly state of affairs obtaining in the country and sent a large army to help Yuddhamalla II whose cause he pretended to espouse. With the help of these forces, Yuddhamalla succeeded in displacing Bhīma and seizing the kingdom. He proclaimed himself king and assumed the reins of government. He had, however, very little real power. A large part of the kingdom was occupied by Rāshtrakūṭa officers and nobles who paid no regard to his authority. Many of his *dāyādas* who had designs upon the throne were still at large, and were hatching plots to compass his ruin. Though he managed to maintain his position for seven years, he enjoyed no peace. The way in which the struggle for power between him and his rivals threw the country into confusion and brought misery on the people is briefly but clearly indicated in the contemporary records. On the death of Vikramāditya II, according to one inscription, 'the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, viz. Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtāṇḍa, and Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, were fighting for supremacy, and oppressing the subjects like Rākshasas'.³ 'The feudatory Śabara chiefs, the commanders of Vallabhā (i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa) and others', states another, apportioned the territory among themselves and 'held it for seven years'.⁴

Chālukya Bhīma II

The country was rescued from this state of civil war and anarchy by Chālukya Bhīma II Rājamārtāṇḍa, a son of Vijayāditya IV by his wife, Melāmbā, and a half-brother of Amma I. After a bitter conflict lasting for five years, he succeeded in expelling the Rāshtrakūṭas from his native land and restoring peace and order in the realm. He was greatly helped in this contest by the outbreak of a dynastic revolution in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. Govinda IV, who had ascended the throne of Mānyakhēṭa in A.D. 930, incurred the displeasure of a section of the nobility of the realm; the malcontents were headed by Govinda's paternal uncle Baddega who together with his ambitious son Kannara had been banished by Govinda from his

¹ *EL*, xxv, 108; ix, 55.

² *EL*, ix, 55.

³ *SII*, i, no. 37, p. 45.

⁴ *ARE*, 1917, ii, para. 24.

dominions. Baddega and Kannara retired to the court of the Haihaya king, Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī, and thence instigated the Chālukya chiefs of Vemulavāḍa and Mudugoṇḍa to rise up in revolt against their sovereign. Govinda IV sent an army to put down the rebels, but since it could not cope with the situation the rebellion spread and the imperial authority suffered an eclipse. Chālukya Bhīma II Rājamārtāṇḍa seized his opportunity, and making common cause with the rebels he struck a blow to regain his independence as ruler of his ancestral kingdom. The attempts of Govinda IV to keep his hold upon Vengi were of no avail; his forces suffered defeat, and his protégé Yuddhamalla II was obliged to seek safety in flight. The defeat of the Rāshtrakūṭa forces and the consequent outbreak of disturbances within the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions left Chālukya Bhīma II free to deal sternly with his rival kinsmen, and to establish his authority securely in the kingdom. When the country had been completely liberated, and his rivals were exterminated, he proclaimed himself king in A.D. 934-5 and celebrated his coronation.¹ Though Chālukya Bhīma II ruled for twelve years, nothing is known about the events of his reign. He married two wives, Ūrjapā or Aṅkidevi of the Eastern Ganga family and Lōkāmbā of unknown parentage, who each gave him a son, the boys being named Dānārṇava and Amma respectively.²

Amma II

Chālukya Bhīma II was succeeded by his second son Amma II, then a child of twelve years old, Dānārṇava, his older half-brother, being superseded. How this came about cannot be certainly ascertained. Amma II, unlike his elder brother, was born in the purple, and that was most probably the reason why he was selected to rule the kingdom. Though Dānārṇava appears to have acquiesced in this arrangement, Amma II was not left in undisturbed possession of his dominions. Soon after his coronation in A.D. 945 he was attacked by Bādapa and Tāḷa II, sons of Yuddhamalla II, who had taken refuge after the death of their father at the Rāshtrakūṭa court. The accession of young Amma II to the throne, and the defection of some principal nobles of the kingdom, encouraged them to make an attempt to regain their patrimony. They enlisted the support of Kṛishṇa III and invaded Vengi in force. Amma II was helpless; his supporters were weak, and the nobles turned hostile and deserted to the enemy. Unable to offer any resistance, he abandoned the struggle and fled from the country. Bādapa seized the empty throne, and having proclaimed himself king he assumed the official name of Vijayāditya. Curiously enough, the Eastern Chālukya records are silent about the intervention of Bādapa and his younger brother and their rule over Vengi. Their own inscriptions,³ however, leave no room for doubt that they ousted Amma II from the throne, and ruled the kingdom for a while, though of the dura-

¹ *EI*, xii, 249; ix, 47.

² *JAHRS*, xi, 80-88, *CP*, 1 of 1916-17.

³ *EI*, xix, 137; *CP*, no. 6 of 1938-9 (unpublished); *EI*, xix, 148.

tion of their rule and the extent of their power we have no definite information. Bādapa died while in full possession of the throne and was succeeded by his younger brother, Tāla II, who assumed the name of Vishṇuvardhana on becoming king. The rule of Tāla II did not last long; it came to an abrupt end on the return of Amma II from exile. The nobles who had formerly been instrumental in ousting Amma now changed their attitude towards him and favoured his return. Nṛpakāma, the chief of Kolanu, gave him one of his daughters in marriage and warmly espoused his cause. Amma, thus assured of the support of the nobles, returned to Vengi, slew Tāla II in battle and took possession of the kingdom.

The position of Amma II was not, however, quite secure. Though he was allowed to rule undisturbed for some time, he became involved once again in a war with the Rāshtrakūṭas in A.D. 936 and was compelled to flee the country a second time and to seek safety in exile. Kṛishṇa III was an ambitious monarch, and he cherished the desire of bringing the whole of South India under his control. To realize this ambition he invaded the Tamil country in A.D. 949-50, defeated the Chōla king Parāntaka in the battle of Takkōlam, sacked the cities of Kāñchī and Tāñjāvūr, and annexed the whole of Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his dominions. He next turned his attention to Vengi and sent an army to reduce it to subjection. He entered at the same time into alliance with Amma's elder brother Dānārṇava, whom he won over to his side by promising to place him upon the throne. Unable to withstand the combined attack of Dānārṇava and Kṛishṇa III, Amma II fled from the kingdom and took refuge in Kalinga. Kṛishṇa III was true to his promise. He appointed Dānārṇava as the ruler of Vengi and entrusted to him the administration of his ancestral territory.

It is not known how long Dānārṇava remained in power. Some time after the retirement of the Rāshtrakūṭa armies, Amma II returned from exile, took back the kingdom from his half-brother and ruled it in peace until A.D. 970. His reign did not, however, end without disturbance. Dānārṇava, who had never abandoned his designs on the throne, rebelled against him, and with the help probably of Mallana and Gondiya of the Mudugoṇḍa family slew Amma II in battle and took possession of the kingdom.¹

Dānārṇava

The reign of Dānārṇava lasted only for a short period of three years, during which he appears to have been constantly at war with his enemies, especially the Telugu Chōḍa chief, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma, of Peḍakallu in the modern Kurnool District. The circumstances in which Dānārṇava came into conflict with this nobleman are not quite clear. Bhīma was, however, most probably a grandson of Rāja-Bhīma or Chālukya Bhīma II through his mother, and a brother-in-law (wife's brother) of Amma II. To avenge the death of Amma, then, he appears to have attacked Dānārṇava and slain him in battle in A.D. 973.

¹ Elliot's Collection, Madras Government Or. MSS. Library, 13-6-26, pp. 34-8.

II

THE TELUGU CHŌḌA INTERREGNUM AND THE POST-RESTORATION PERIOD

THE death of Dānārṇava marks an important stage in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas. Their rule was definitely overthrown for the first time since the establishment of their family in Vengi by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana in the first half of the seventh century A.D. There had no doubt been civil wars in the past, and the country had even been occupied by foreign invaders on several occasions; but a Chālukya had always remained upon the throne and ruled the country either independently or in subordination to some foreign power. After the death of Dānārṇava, however, his sons were driven into exile and the empire of the Chālukyas came to an end. A member of the alien Telugu Chōḍa family from the land beyond their frontier seized their throne and established himself firmly in their ancestral kingdom.

Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīma ruled Vengi for twenty-seven years from A.D. 973 to 1000, a period which is usually described in the later Eastern Chālukya inscriptions as an interregnum. Bhīma compares himself, in the only record of his reign which has yet come to light,¹ with Guṇaga Vijayāditya, from whom he proudly traces his descent. The comparison is not entirely without significance. None among the kings of Vengi excepting Guṇaga either fought with so many enemies or bore sway over such an extensive territory as did Bhīma. He defeated the kings of Anga, Kalinga, Vaidumba, and Drāviḍa and in the heyday of his glory exercised authority over the entire coastal region from Mahendragiri to Conjeevaram and from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Karnatak.

Bhīma also invaded Toṇḍaimandalam in the south in A.D. 1001. Though the reasons for this incursion are not definitely recorded, yet a study of the contemporary Chōḷa and Eastern Chālukya inscriptions makes it quite clear that it was provoked by the aggressive attitude of the Chōḷa king, Rājarāja I, who in pursuance of imperialistic ambitions espoused the cause of the sons of Dānārṇava, and having given his daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimalāditya, the younger of the two princes, invaded Vengi in A.D. 999-1000 with the object of restoring the elder brother Śaktivarman I to his ancestral throne. Although the inscriptions dated in Rājarāja's 14th regnal year (A.D. 999-1000) state clearly that he conquered Vengi, he was apparently in reality not completely successful. Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīma was a formidable enemy

¹ *El*, xxi, 32.

supported by powerful allies. He was not so easily overthrown as the Chōla inscriptions would have us believe. The epigraphs of the reign of Śaktivarman I,¹ which curiously enough are completely silent about the help given by the Chōlas, and attribute the entire credit of victory to his unrivalled valour, envisage, as a matter of fact, two or even three campaigns against Bhīma. (1) When Śaktivarman I, accompanied, of course, by his Chōla ally, advanced on Vengi, he was at first opposed by a famous warrior called Ēkavīra who was sent to arrest the progress of his invasion by Bhīma; but Ēkavīra, able and experienced as he was, proved unequal to the situation. He himself was killed in battle and his followers were dispersed. (2) Śaktivarman was next attacked by Mahārāja and Baddema, probably Telugu Chōḍa princes ruling in the south-western Telugu country; but they also suffered defeat and were obliged to seek safety in flight. These reverses appear to have brought home to Bhīma the seriousness of the danger threatening him. He was obliged to leave Vengi and to retire into the hills and jungles of Kalinga. Śaktivarman I occupied the country and proclaimed himself king. The Chōla army having effected their purpose returned to their native country, believing that he was now securely established on his ancestral throne. However, they were soon undeceived. Bhīma did not lose courage. He gathered fresh forces and proceeded at their head towards Vengi. It is not known whether Śaktivarman I adopted any measures to oppose him. If he really offered any resistance, it cannot have been effective, for Bhīma passed through Vengi triumphantly, and succeeded, as already stated, in penetrating into the heart of Toṇḍaimandalam. He laid siege to Kāñchī, the second city in the Chōla kingdom, and captured it in A.D. 1001-2. But he was not permitted to remain there long. Rājarāja I soon expelled him from his dominions, and devised means for his final defeat. Rājarāja invaded the coastal Telugu country once again in A.D. 1002-3, advanced as far north as Kalinga, and having slain Bhīma in battle established Śaktivarman I firmly in Vengi.

Śaktivarman I

The accession of Śaktivarman I opens a new epoch in the history of Vengi. Though he succeeded in regaining his ancestral kingdom he had had to pay a heavy price to attain his object. The alliance with the Chōla monarch through whose help he managed to overthrow his enemies involved the sacrifice of national independence. He had to submit to Chōla authority, and acknowledge the Chōla as his overlord and sovereign. Vengi ceased to be an independent kingdom and became a protectorate of the Chōla empire. The formation of the Chōla-Chālukya alliance and the establishment of Chōla ascendancy over the entire coastal Telugu country upset the political equilibrium of the Southern Deccan and plunged the land into interminable

¹ Madras Govt. Or. MSS. Library, 15-2-26, pp. 348 ff.; *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, ii, 349-411; CP, 15 of 1917-18.

dynastic wars. The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī who succeeded to the power of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the Deccan challenged the Chōḷa supremacy over the Telugu country of the maritime plain, and Vengi became the theatre of a long war which lasted, with a few brief intervals, for the next 135 years; the history of Vengi during this period is a history of this war; the Eastern Chālukyas, the rulers of the country, recede into the background, leaving the Chōḷas and the Kalyāṇī Chālukyas to dispute the field.

The rule of Śaktivarman I lasted, according to the later Eastern Chālukya charters, for a period of twelve years; but very little is known about the internal affairs of Vengi during his reign. His inscriptions, no doubt, furnish ample information about his struggle with Jaṭa Chōḷa Bhīma and his allies; but regarding the events which happened after his accession they have no evidence to offer. Śaktivarman's reign was not, however, without disturbances. The first of the series of Karnatak invasions which was to devastate Vengi during the next century and a quarter occurred during the early years of his rule. Sattiga or Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa II, sent an army to invade the Eastern Chālukya kingdom in A.D. 1006, probably with the object of overthrowing the Chōḷa-Chālukya alliance and bringing the east coast under his control. Bayal Nambi, one of his generals, marching at the head of an army, entered Vengi from the south, reduced the forts of Dharapikōṭa and Yanamadala to ashes, and established himself at Chebrolu in the Guntur District. How Śaktivarman I faced the invasion it is not possible to ascertain, as we have no information on the subject from any sources. But his ally the Chōḷa emperor, Rājarāja I, appears to have bestirred himself and made plans for the protection of Vengi. The invasion of Karnatak by Rājendra Chōḷa I in A.D. 1007 was probably undertaken to divert the attention of Satyāśraya, and compel him to withdraw his army from Vengi for the defence of his realm. However this may be, we know that the Western Chālukya army retired from the east coast and that Śaktivarman was left in possession of his kingdom. During the last years of his reign he seems to have devoted his attention to the internal administration of his realm. He expelled people who were not favourably disposed towards him from their estates and bestowed these on his followers as a reward for their loyal service. Very little is known of his family life; it is not even known whether he was married. He died without issue in A.D. 1011, and was succeeded by his younger brother Vimalāditya.

Vimalāditya

Vimalāditya ascended the throne in A.D. 1011 and ruled until 1018 for a period of seven years. He was a colourless king, quite satisfied with the conditions of life as he found them. The only facts really known about him are his apparent conversion, either temporary or permanent, to Jainism, and his marriage with two princesses of the Chōḷa family. His first wife was Kundavai, the daughter of the great Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja I, by whom he had a son

named after his maternal grandfather Rājarāja; Rājarāja was appointed crown prince and succeeded his father on the throne of Vengi. Melama, the second wife of Vimalāditya, was probably a daughter of Jaṭa Chōḍa Bhīma, and by her he had also a son called Vijayāditya. Though he is styled like his predecessors a *parama-brahmaṇya* and *parama-māheśvara* in the Raṇasthipūṇḍi grant, Vimalāditya appears at one time to have favoured Jainism. An undated epigraph at Rāmatīrtham in the Vizagapatam District refers to a Jaina monk named Trikālayogi Siddhāntadeva as his *guru*,¹ and it is not unlikely that Vimalāditya received religious instruction from him, possibly after first relinquishing the throne.

At the close of the reign of Vimalāditya in A.D. 1018, the succession to the throne was in dispute. Vijayāditya, his son by Melama, seized power with the help of Jayasīrṇha II Jagadekamalla, king of Kalyāṇī, and kept his brother Rājarāja out of the kingdom.² Rājarāja appealed to his maternal uncle and overlord the Chola emperor, Rājendra Chōla, for help, and the latter promptly dispatched forces to his aid. To divert the attention of Jayasīrṇha II, and prevent him from sending effective help to Vijayāditya, he sent against Raṭṭapāḍi a powerful army which devastated the country and compelled him to take steps for the defence of his kingdom. At the same time Rājendra ordered his general Śōliyavaraśan to march at the head of another army into Vengi and restore to his nephew his ancestral kingdom. Śōliyavaraśan advanced, accordingly, with his forces into Vengi, defeated Vijayāditya and his allies in several battles, took possession of the country on behalf of Rājarāja, and proceeded afterwards at the command of his master on a grand military expedition to the Gangetic valley. On the departure of the Chōla army from their country, the Utkalas whom Śōliyavaraśan had subdued rose again, probably incited by Jayasīrṇha II, and threatened the line of communications. To put down the Utkalas and protect the rear of his army campaigning in the Gangetic valley, Rājendra Chōla I marched with his troops towards the north and arrived on the banks of the Godavarī where he established himself in a fortified camp. He sent troops to chastise the Utkalas and meanwhile awaited the arrival of his general from the Gangetic valley. During his sojourn on the banks of the Godavarī he enthroned his nephew Rājarāja as the ruler of Vengi, celebrated the latter's coronation on 16 August A.D. 1022, and returned home with the victorious army from the north which had joined him soon afterwards.³

Rājarāja Narendra

The reign of Rājarāja, which had thus begun inauspiciously with a civil war, was throughout a period of continuous political unrest. During his long rule

¹ 831 of 1917, *SII*, ix (5), 403.

² See the chapter on Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī for detailed treatment of events more summarily described here, pp. 327 ff.

³ *Cālas* (second edn.), 204-11.

of forty-one years he was constantly beset with difficulties and had more than once to flee the country, unable to withstand the opposition of his enemies. His half-brother Vijayāditya, though vanquished in fight, never gave up his designs upon the throne, and was unceasing in his efforts to bring about the downfall of his rival. The first few years of Rājarāja's reign after his coronation appear to have been peaceful; but he became involved once again about A.D. 1030 in a struggle with Vijayāditya who drove him out of the kingdom and crowned himself king on 27 June A.D. 1031, assuming the official name of Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya.¹ The circumstances under which Vijayāditya managed to oust his brother and seize the throne are shrouded in mystery. He had probably received help from the Western Chālukya court, where he later found asylum. How long after his coronation Vijayāditya managed to keep himself in power, it is not possible to discover; but an inscription at Bhīmavaram in the Cocanada *tāluk* of the East Godavari district which is dated in Rājarāja's 16th regnal year (A.D. 1035) shows clearly that some time before that year he returned from exile and recovered his kingdom.²

But Rājarāja was not allowed to remain long in undisturbed possession of his realm. In the last years of the reign of Rājendra Chōla, about the year A.D. 1042, the Western Chālukyas invaded Vengi. The circumstances under which this invasion took place are not quite clear, but we may suppose that the new ruler of Kalyāṇī, Somēśvara I, had begun to pursue an aggressive policy. The news of this Western Chālukya invasion quickly reached the Chōla capital Gangāpurī. Rājarāja very probably went in person to his uncle's court to seek help. Rājendra was then too old to take the field himself, and his sons were in the extreme south of his dominions with the greater part of the army. Nevertheless, he gathered together such forces as were available and dispatched them to Vengi under his Brāhman general Rājarāja Brahmamahārāja, accompanied by two other commanders, Uttama Chōda Milāḍuḍaiyān and Uttama Chōda Chōḍakōn. The Chōla army soon reached Vengi and immediately engaged the enemy. A sanguinary battle took place at Kalidiṇḍi in the neighbourhood of the city of Vengi in which the commanding officers on both sides perished.³ The issue of the battle was indecisive.

There was perhaps a lull in the warfare after the battle of Kalidiṇḍi, and during this time Rājendra Chōla died, being succeeded by Rājādhirāja I. Rājādhirāja I, who was eager to restore the Chōla power over Vengi to its former absolute state, led an expedition into the coastal Telugu country as soon as he was firmly established as supreme ruler of the Chōla empire. Inscriptions dated in his 27th regnal year (A.D. 1045) refer for the first time to the earliest of his wars with Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I. It is there stated that Rājādhirāja advanced at the head of his army, slew the Western Chālukya

¹ *JAHRS*, II, 287, l. 63.

² 482 K of 1893, *III*, v, no. 82.

³ *CP*, no. 3 of 1937-8; *ARE*, 1937-8, pt. II, para. 14; *Bhārati*, xx, 439.

commanders, Gandappayyan and Gangādhara, in a battle fought at Dhannāḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) on the Krishnā, and compelled Vikki (Vikramāditya) and Vijayāditya (the rival and half-brother of Rājarāja) to retreat in disorder. He then penetrated into the Western Chālukya dominions and set fire to the important fort of Kollippākai (Kulpak in the Hyderabad State) which stood on the frontier between the territories of Kalyāṇī and Vengi.

This victorious expedition of Rājādhirāja must have cleared the Western Chālukya armies from Vengi and enabled Rājarāja to reaffirm his power over the entire kingdom. The relief, however, was only temporary, for the Western Chālukyas soon reappeared on the scene and compelled him to submit to their authority. Several Western Chālukya records of the time refer to Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara's rule over Vengi. In an inscription dated A.D. 1047 he is said to have subdued the kings of Vengi and Kalinga; his eldest son Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara II is spoken of as Vengīpuravarēśvara in a new series of records ranging in date from A.D. 1049 to 1054,¹ and Kuppama, the daughter of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of his pradhānis resident in the Eastern Chālukya court, makes a gift in A.D. 1055-6 to the temple of Śiva at Drākshārāma in the East Godavari District.² This record is corroborated by the evidence of the Kanyākumārī and Chārla inscriptions of Vīrarājendra in which it is explicitly stated that 'the countries of Vengi and Kalinga which had been in the possession of his family, being abandoned by his two elder brothers, were in the occupation of the enemy.'³ It is evident that Vengi and Kalinga were lost by the Chōlas during the reign of Rājādhirāja I, and that they passed into the hands of the Chālukyas who held them almost up to the closing years of Vīrarājendra's reign. Nevertheless Rājarāja was not driven from his kingdom, but continued to rule, excepting perhaps for a short interval of two or three years, until the end of his reign in A.D. 1061.⁴ He probably left his kingdom for a little while immediately after the Western Chālukya conquest and repaired to the Chōla court in search of help;⁵ but being unsuccessful in his mission, he appears to have gone back to Vengi and made peace with the Western Chālukyas. It is difficult to understand why Rājādhirāja suddenly lost interest in the affairs of Vengi and thus allowed that country to fall an easy prey to the hereditary enemy of his family. He was no doubt engaged in intermittent warfare with the Western Chālukyas during the remaining years of his reign, but it is yet strange that he never seems to have made any attempt to re-establish his authority in the Telugu country.

¹ *BK*, xi, pt. i, no. 84; *El*, xvi, no. 9 A, pp. 53-7; *BK*, xi, pt. i, no. 90.

² *SII*, iv, no. 1010.

³ *El*, xxv, 262.

⁴ 185 of 1893; *El*, iv, 300; 663 of 1920, 468 of 1893, 671 of 1920.

⁵ An epigraph in the Śiva shrine at Tiruvaiyāru in the Tanjore Dt. (221 of 1894; *SII*, v, 520) refers to two gifts of money by him to the temple in the 31st (A.D. 1049), and 32nd (A.D. 1050) regnal years of Rājādhirāja I. Such gifts to distant temples are usually made on the occasion of the visit of the donors.

Rājarāja reconciled himself to the new situation, and accepted the Western Chālukyas instead of the Chōḷas as his overlords. He appears to have maintained friendly relations with the court of Kalyāṇī. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of the Pradhānis of Āhavamalla Someśvara I, was a permanent resident in his capital. He was a distinguished scholar and he assisted Rājarāja's court poet and *purohit* Nannaya Bhaṭṭa in the composition of his Telugu *Mahābhārata*, for which the king rewarded him by the grant of the village of Nandampūṇḍi as *agrahāra* in A.D. 1051.¹

The reign of Rājarāja came to an end with his death in A.D. 1061. Vijayāditya thereupon seized the throne and established himself permanently in the kingdom.² Vijayāditya, it may be noted, was a feudatory vassal of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, whom he had served loyally for several years since the time of his accession. He would obviously not have made any attempt to seize Vengi without the consent of his suzerain, and the death of Rājarāja offered thus another opportunity to the Kalyāṇī court of strengthening its hold on Vengi.

During his long reign of forty-one years Rājarāja rarely enjoyed peace. The sinister designs of his half-brother coupled with the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers converted his fertile kingdom into a cockpit. Rājarāja was indeed the helpless victim of a capricious fate. He lost and regained his kingdom only to lose it finally; he became the dependent by turns of the Chōḷas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī; and he perhaps ended his long and chequered career in exile and relative obscurity. Though subjected to the buffets of misfortune, he seems to have borne his lot with patient resignation, and to have submitted to the inevitable when it proved no longer possible for him to hold his own. Rājarāja was an enlightened and tolerant monarch. Though himself ardently devoted to the worship of Śiva, he yet extended his patronage to the followers of all sects. He was fond of learning, and encouraged poets and scholars with munificent gifts. At his instance his chief court poet Nannaya Bhaṭṭa began to compose the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* based on Vyāsa's great epic, which he, however, left incomplete owing perhaps to the sudden termination of his master's reign and the consequent loss of his patronage.

Rājarāja married his cousin Ammangai, the daughter of his maternal uncle Rājendra Chōḷa I, and had by her a son, Rājendra, named after the great Chōḷa emperor.

Śaktivarman II

Though Vijayāditya seized the throne, he did not immediately begin to rule the kingdom. He placed on the throne his only son Śaktivarman II whom he loved devotedly, and himself retired into the background. But

¹ 183 of 1893; *SII*, iv, no. 1010.

² *CP*, 8 of 1924-5; *JAHRS*, ix, pt. i, pp. 24 ff.

his paternal affection for Śaktivarman was perhaps not the only reason for this procedure. The services of Vijayāditya were required elsewhere. The Chōlas were persistently attacking Nolambavāḍi, which guarded the frontiers of Raṭṭapāḍi, the homeland of the Western Chālukyas, and it was necessary that its defence should be entrusted to capable hands. Vijayāditya was a veteran warrior and an experienced general, and Āhavamalla had appointed him as the governor of Nolambavāḍi and charged him with the task of organizing the defence of the District.

Śaktivarman II ruled only for a short time. His reign, according to the Ryāli copper plates, lasted for but one year, at the end of which he is said to have gone to heaven like Abhimanyu, the heroic son of Arjuna, who lost his life while fighting against heavy odds in the Mahābhārata war.¹ The comparison of Śaktivarman's death with that of Abhimanyu seems to suggest that he was killed in battle. He probably lost his life in the Chōla invasion which swept over Vengi at this time. Inscriptions dated in the 2nd year of Virarājendra (A.D. 1063) refer to a defeat which he inflicted on a Western Chālukya army sent to Vengi by Vikramāditya.² This points clearly to a Chōla attack upon Vengi some time earlier, probably at the end of A.D. 1062. As this was actually the time when Śaktivarman II appears to have died in battle, it is not unlikely that he lost his life in fighting against the Chōlas on this occasion. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the army of Vikramāditya, killed his general Chāmunḍarāyan, and cut off the nose of his daughter, the beautiful Nāgalai, he yet failed to gain a foothold in Vengi and was compelled to withdraw from the country. Sōmēśvara I thereupon retaliated by sending an expedition under Vijayāditya into the Chōla dominions,³ and advanced at the head of a large army towards Kūḍal-Śangam, at the confluence of the Tungā and Bhadrā in the Mysore country. This movement of the Western Chālukya armies compelled Virarājendra to abandon his campaign in Vengi and fall back on his own territories.

Vijayāditya VII

Vijayāditya, or to give him his full name, Viśhṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, was absent from Vengi at the time of his son's death. Like his Purāṇic ancestor Arjuna, with whom he compares himself, he was engaged with the enemy elsewhere. Despite his bereavement, he was persuaded by his friends and well-wishers to undertake the task of governing the kingdom.

The political career of Vijayāditya VII began with the death of his father in A.D. 1018. His early attempts to seize the throne and oust his half-brother Rājarāja from the kingdom have been dealt with above. Unable to maintain his authority after his coronation in A.D. 1031, he left his native country and retired to the Western Chālukya court at Kalyāṇi, where he distinguished himself in the service of Sōmēśvara I who accepted him as his *aṅgakāra* or

¹ CP, 8 of 1924-5; JAHRS, ix, pt. i, p. 24.

² Cālas, i, 318-19.

³ EC, vii, Cī. 18.

champion warrior, and conferred on him the rank of a *kumāra* or prince.¹ He was appointed governor of Nolambavādi in A.D. 1063 and was charged with the defence of the province against the Chōla invasions. At the time of the death of his son, Vijayāditya was conducting a campaign in the Chōla dominions, from which he returned victorious soon afterwards according to an epigraph found at Mudukakere in Mysore State.² The Chōlas did not, however, abandon their imperialistic designs. It was expected that Virarājendra, who had succeeded his elder brother Rājendra II on the throne of Gangāpurī, and who was eager to restore the prestige of his family, would shortly make a fresh attempt to subjugate Vengi. Sōmēśvara I therefore took the necessary precautions to safeguard his possessions. He stationed a strong army under Jananātha of Dhārā, probably a Paramāra prince in his service, in the neighbourhood of Bezvada, and sent Vijayāditya in A.D. 1064 to the south with an army³ to forestall the designs of the enemy by carrying war into his own territory.⁴

While Virarājendra was engaged in the north, Sōmēśvara I died of the illness which had prevented his meeting the Chōla enemy on the appointed day, and Vikramāditya began to pursue his plans for securing the throne for himself. Accordingly he first got Vijayāditya to make his submission to Virarājendra and make his peace with him, and soon after followed the same course himself. Thus Vijayāditya became the ruler of Vengi as a feudatory of the Chōla monarch.

Rājendra and Vijayāditya VII

On the death of Virarājendra early in A.D. 1070, and the assassination of his son and successor Adhirājendra a few months later, Rājendra, who was descended through his mother from Rājendra Chōla I, left Vengi and went to the south where he established himself on the Chōla throne; what happened in Vengi and the northern part of the Chōla empire during this period is not quite clear. The following facts, however, may be noted at this point: (1) A study of Vijayāditya's inscriptions reveals the existence of a break in his rule over Vengi between A.D. 1068 and 1072. His inscriptions run in a series from A.D. 1065 to 1068; then there is a break; and no record of his reign is found again until A.D. 1072. (2) In some of the Eastern Ganga inscriptions of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍa Gangadeva, it is said that Rājarāja-Dēvendrarman 'first became the husband of the Goddess of Victory in a battle with the Dramilas and then wedded Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Chōla king, and when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Vengi,

¹ There is now no doubt about the identity of Vijayāditya of the Western Chālukya records with the half-brother of Rājarāja; he is called *maga* (son) of Sōmēśvara I in some Western Chālukya records as several feudatories are, but this is not enough to warrant the postulation of another son of Sōmēśvara, otherwise unknown.

² *EC*, vii, Ci, 18.

³ *SII*, lx (i), 127.

⁴ The campaigns that followed have been described in the section on the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.

as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḍas, he, Rājarāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the Western horizon.¹ The name of the Chōḷa king whose daughter, Rājasundarī, Rājarāja thus married was, according to another record, Rājendra Chōḷa.² (3) Some of the copper-plate charters of Kulōttunga I, a name which Rājendra assumed after he ascended the Chōḷa throne, state that he first became king of Vengi after his father had ruled for a period of forty-one years, and that being desirous of the Chōḷa kingdom, he bestowed his ancestral kingdom on his paternal uncle Vijayāditya and departed to the south.³ It may be deduced from a comparison of these records that after Virarājendra had bestowed Vengi on Vijayāditya, his nephew Rājendra made an attempt to capture the country for himself, and that Vijayāditya thereupon fled from Vengi and took refuge in the Eastern Ganga court, where he appears to have remained during Rājendra's rule. As soon, however, as the usurper left Vengi with the bulk of his army for the Chōḷa country, Rājarāja Dēvendravarmaṇ, the King of Kalinga, invaded that province with the object of restoring Vijayāditya VII to the throne and attacked the small army which Rājendra had left there for the defence of the country. The reason for Rājarāja's solicitude for the restoration of Vijayāditya is not far to seek. It was not so much due to his sympathy with the distressed monarch as to his desire to further his own interests under the pretext of offering him help. Rājarāja was a Chōḷa feudatory who was anxious to shake off his allegiance and assert his independence. He studied the political situation carefully, and finding that the time was suitable for the prosecution of his designs, he sent an army to invade Vengi. Rājendra (Kulōttunga I) was then fully engaged in counteracting Vikramāditya's designs against him, and was in no position to send any strong force to Vengi. Banapati, the Brāhman general of Kalinga, marched to the west, and engaged the Chōḷa forces which had been left by Rājendra for the defence of the country. The Chōḷa army, owing probably to its reduced strength, suffered a defeat. The disaster was not perhaps serious, but Rājendra was unable to spare reinforcements. He must have realized that in the circumstances in which he was placed it was not wise to entangle himself in a war with Kalinga, and that peace, though it involved some sacrifice of prestige, had at the moment its advantages. The recognition to some extent at least of the rights of an inconvenient enemy like Rājarāja Dēvendravarmaṇ would convert him into a valuable ally, and the restoration of his old uncle, who was not likely to live long and had no surviving male issue to succeed him, would not involve any permanent loss. Rājendra therefore concluded a treaty of peace with Rājarāja Dēvendravarmaṇ according to the terms of which he agreed to allow

¹ *IA*, xviii, 171.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³ *EI*, vi, 344; *SII*, i, 60; *IA*, xix, 427; *EI*, v, 77.

Vijayāditya to rule Vengi during the remaining years of his life; he also recognized Rājarāja as an independent ally, and cemented the alliance by bestowing on him the hand of his own daughter Rājasundarī in marriage.

The rule of Vijayāditya after his reinstatement did not last long. Inscriptions dated in his 12th (A.D. 1072) and 13th (A.D. 1073) regnal years show that he was ruling the kingdom at that time.¹ The total absence of any record of his reign in Vengi in the succeeding years seems to indicate that he perhaps lost his throne once again. Two important facts deserve notice in this connexion. For some reason unknown at present, Yaśaḥkarnāḍēva, the Chedi king of Dāhala, invaded Vengi about A.D. 1073. He claims to have destroyed 'with ease the ruler of the Andhra country (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw', and to have honoured with munificent gifts the holy Bhīmeśvara of Drākshārāma.² Similarly Banapati, the commander-in-chief of the Eastern Ganga king, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, declares in an epigraph found at Dirghasi and dated A.D. 1075 that he defeated the King of Vengi again and again and became possessed of all his wealth.³ It is not known whether the invasions of Vengi referred to in these records were interconnected or independent events; nor is it possible to find out why Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, who had himself re-established Vijayāditya on the throne of Vengi three years earlier, had thus to take up arms against him. It is, however, certain that as a consequence of these invasions Vijayāditya lost his kingdom and had to spend the remaining years of his life in exile. He figures in a Western Chālukya record dated A.D. 1074-5 as a vassal of Bhuvanikamalla Sōmēśvara II.⁴ The well-known Nolamba titles such as Pallavānvayam Kāncīpuravarēśvaram and Pallava-permāṇaḍi with which his name is associated in the record indicate that he was then governing the province of Noḷambavāḍi, and had adopted, following the Western Chālukya practice, the titles of the Noḷamaba-Pallavas whose hereditary dominions had been placed under his rule. It is clear that Vijayāditya after his defeat retired to the Western Chālukya court, where he was cordially received and treated with respect and consideration. He did not, however, long survive the loss of his kingdom. As he is said in the Ṭēki, Chellūr, and Piṭhāpuram grants to have ruled only for a period of fifteen years,⁵ he must have died in A.D. 1075. With the death of Vijayāditya, the Eastern Chālukya dynasty came to an end. Though Vengi had lost her independence under the descendants of Dānārṇava, she enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy, and was treated throughout as a separate kingdom; but after Vijayāditya's death she lost her distinctive character and became completely absorbed in the Chōḷa empire. The descendants of Rājarāja did in fact still control her destinies for another half a

¹ CP, 8 and 9 of 1924-5; *JAHRS*, ix, 177-80.

² *EI*, xii, 216.

³ *EI*, xvi, 68-73.

⁴ *EI*, vi, no. 35; *SII*, i, 39; *IA*, xix, 427; *EI*, v, no. 10.

⁵ *EI*, iv, 316.

century; but they no longer lived in the country. They abandoned their native home, relinquished their family name and traditions, and gloried in the name and prestige of the Chōlas which they adopted as their own on succeeding to the throne of the Chōla empire.

Vijayāditya's Family

Vijayāditya married two wives. His chief queen, the mother of his only son Śaktivarman II, was Mādava, a princess of the Haihaya family.¹ Another queen, Revala by name, is mentioned in a Drākshārāma epigraph dated in A.D. 1065, and she bore him a daughter called Somala who made a gift to the temple of the God Bhīmeśvara in that year.² Beside his two children, Vijayāditya brought up a foster-son called Mummaḍi Bhīma, a prince of the solar race, whom he treated 'almost like his own son'.³ Bhīma rose to prominence under Rājārāja II, the first Chōla viceroy of Vengi under Kulōttunga I, and rendered him valuable assistance in his wars against the Ganga, Kalinga, and Kuntala kings.⁴

¹ *JAHRS*, v, 47.

² *ARE*, 1922, pt. ii, para. 6.

³ 182 of 1893; *SII*, i9, 1007.

⁴ *Ibid.*

III

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

ON the state of government and society under the Eastern Chālukyas we learn little from our sources, either epigraphical or literary. We may assume that at its foundation the Eastern Chālukya court was more or less a replica of that of Bādāmi, and that as generations passed, local factors gained in strength and the monarchy of Vengi developed features of its own; still, external influences must have also continued to flow in from the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chōlas, and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, with all of whom the Vengi kingdom had had long and intimate contact, now friendly, now hostile. In the early stages some Pallava colouring also must have been present, particularly in the southern marches of the kingdom.

The inscriptions make mention of the traditional seven components of the State (*saptāṅga*), and the eighteen *tīrthas* (offices), such as *mantri* (minister), *purohita* (chaplain), *sēnāpati* (commander), *yuvārāja* (heir-apparent), *damvārika* (door-keeper), *pradhāna* (chief), *adhyakṣa* (head of department) and so on.¹ A rather late copper-plate grant records the fact that Mēḍamārya was appointed by Vīra-Chōḍa to the dignity of *sēnāpati* and that the king placed a tiara on his head when investing him with this high office.² A grant of Amma I speaks of the Paṭṭavardhani family as holders of offices in the State for several generations following; and the expression used here, *niyogādhiprta* (superintendent of the *niyogas*),³ may well indicate the existence even at a relatively early date of the complex organization of the palace staff into seventy-two *niyogas*; this system is known to have obtained in some of the larger temples of the Vengi country during this period,⁴ and it is a well-known fact that the court and the temple were organized on parallel lines.

The *vishaya* and *kōṭṭam* were administrative subdivisions; the Karma-rāshtra, later Kammanāḍu-vishaya, and the Bōya-Kōṭṭams are examples of these.⁵ The Chendalūr grant of Sarvalōkāśraya is addressed to all *naiyogikavallabhas*, a very general term containing no indication of their duties, as well as to the *grāmīyakaṣas*, the residents of the village which was the subject of the grant.⁶ The *manmeyas* are another class of officials occasionally mentioned;⁷ they held assignments of land or revenue in different villages, but nothing more is really known about them. In fact there is good reason to hold that there was no settled administration worthy of the name in the kingdom as a whole; civil war and foreign invasion frequently harried the land; and the

¹ *EL*, iv, 307; vi, 307; *CP*, 1 of 1916-17.

² *Ibid.*, no. 36, l. 45.

³ *LA*, vii, 186 f.; *EL*, viii, 236; *LA*, xx, 104, &c.

⁴ *EL*, viii, 239.

⁵ *SII*, i, 39; v. 30.

⁶ 729 of 1920.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xxi, 33.

territory was parcelled into a number of small principalities held by a war-like nobility comprising such collateral branches of the Chālukyas themselves as the houses of Elamañchili, Piṭhāpuram, and Mudugonḍa, lines dynastically connected with them like the Sarōnāthas of Kolanu and the Haihayas of Kona, and others who had been raised to high rank with a corresponding award of territory in recognition of loyal services rendered to the ruling family. The Velanāḍus, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, Chāgis, Parichchēdis, and others belonged to this latter class. All of them paid allegiance and tribute to the Vengi ruler when he was strong, but were equally ready to intrigue with the enemies of the suzerain or take sides in the numerous wars of succession when weakness was apparent. The villages, however, must have carried on their local affairs in the traditional manner, not very much affected by the political storms blowing over the country; their economy was necessarily simple and the references to *grāmeyakas* and *rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhas* show that the people lived under the guidance of their natural leaders, the men of substance and character who happened to be living in their midst. In the Pabhupaṅḡu grant of Śaktivarman I we come across an instance of the king removing a *grāmaṇi* for disloyal and treasonable conduct, and appointing another in his place.¹ Even in these troubled times, the central government was not, as it could indeed never afford to be, out of touch with life in the villages, the cells of the body politic.

People

Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in the Andhra country soon after the establishment of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom, has surprisingly little to say of the people of those provinces.² He noted that the country had a rich fertile soil and a moist hot climate; the people were of a violent character; their mode of speech differed from that of the Madhyadēśa, but they followed the same system of writing—all of which is fairly correct for the epoch. He adds elsewhere that the people were of a dark complexion and were fond of the arts. Some parts of the country were sparsely populated and others, the Telugu-Chōḍa country for instance, were wild jungle where bands of highwaymen went about openly. Everywhere he found Buddhism in a decadent condition, and Hinduism, Deva-worship as he calls it, in the ascendant.

Besides the normal castes of the social order, tribes like Bōyas and Savaras are heard of in the inscriptions, and they doubtless took a lower place in the social scale. The Brāhmins took premier place and were generally respected for their learning and character; they were the recipients of gifts on ceremonial occasions. Frequently, however, they entered the service of the state as civil or military officers, and some of these attained great distinction in such callings. The warrior class of fighting men and their general activities have been noticed above. The *Kōmaṭis*, as the trading class of the Telugu country

¹ *JTA*, ii, 403.

² K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, pp. 98-101.

were called, were a flourishing community whose benefactions to temples and other religious and charitable foundations often figure in the inscriptions. It may be that their organization into a powerful guild (*nakara*) which had its headquarters in Penugonḍa (West Godavari) and branches in seventeen other centres had its beginnings in this period; a full description of the guild and its organization is to be found in the *Vaiśyapurāṇa* (canto 7), a work written probably in the sixteenth century. The *Telikas* (oil-mongers) are another guild nominally numbering 1,000 who secured certain social privileges from Rājārāja Chōḍa-Ganga, the Chōḷa viceroy of Vengi, in A.D. 1084.¹ For the bulk of the population the army furnished a career, and the successful adventurer or condottiere had, as noted already, every chance of setting himself up as a chieftain over some small territory either as a vassal of a more powerful leader, or on his own account.

Religion

In the sphere of religion Buddhism had lost ground more and more since the days of Hiuen Tsang, and the Buddha of Amarārāma (Amarāvati) had in fact come to be worshipped as an incarnation of Viṣṇu; the other four *ārāmas* of Bhīmapura, Dākareṇi, Palakolanu, and Drākshārāma are believed to have been once famous centres of Buddhism, but subsequently became Hindu shrines which attained great celebrity and attracted vast crowds of pilgrims. The shrines of Mahāsēna at Chebrolu, Huṁkāra-Śaṅkāri at Bidapura, and Mallēśvara at Bezvada were other great centres of pilgrimage. The temple of Mahāsēna at Chebrolu was specially noted for its annual *jātra*, one of the features of which was a grand procession of the image all the way from Chebrolu to Bezvada and back—a distance of about twenty-five miles. Śaivism was more popular than Vaishṇavism, and we hear rather more of the construction of Śaiva temples than of those of Viṣṇu. The 108 Narendrēśvaras of Vijayāditya II Narendra Mrgarāja have been already mentioned; Yuddhamalla I erected a temple to Kārttikēya at Bezvada; Chālukya Bhīma I constructed the famous temples at Drākshārāma and Chālukya-Bhīmavaram; and Rājārājanarēndra erected three memorial shrines at Kalidiṇḍi to commemorate the three Chōḷa generals who fell in battle at that place.

Jainism, unlike Buddhism, continued to command some support from the people, and inscriptions record the construction of *basadis* and grants of land for their support from the monarchs and the people. Amma II Rājamahēndra showed favour to the Jains but no king of the Eastern Chālukya line, with the possible exception of Vimalāditya, ever became a declared follower of the doctrine of Mahāvīra. Amma II built two Jain temples (*Jinālayas*) called Sarvalokāśraya and Kaṭakābharāṇa, and established a feeding house (*satra*) attached to each where *śramaṇas* of all the four castes were to be fed at the expense of the foundation.²

¹ *El*, vi, 35.

² *El*, ix, 49; vii, 191.

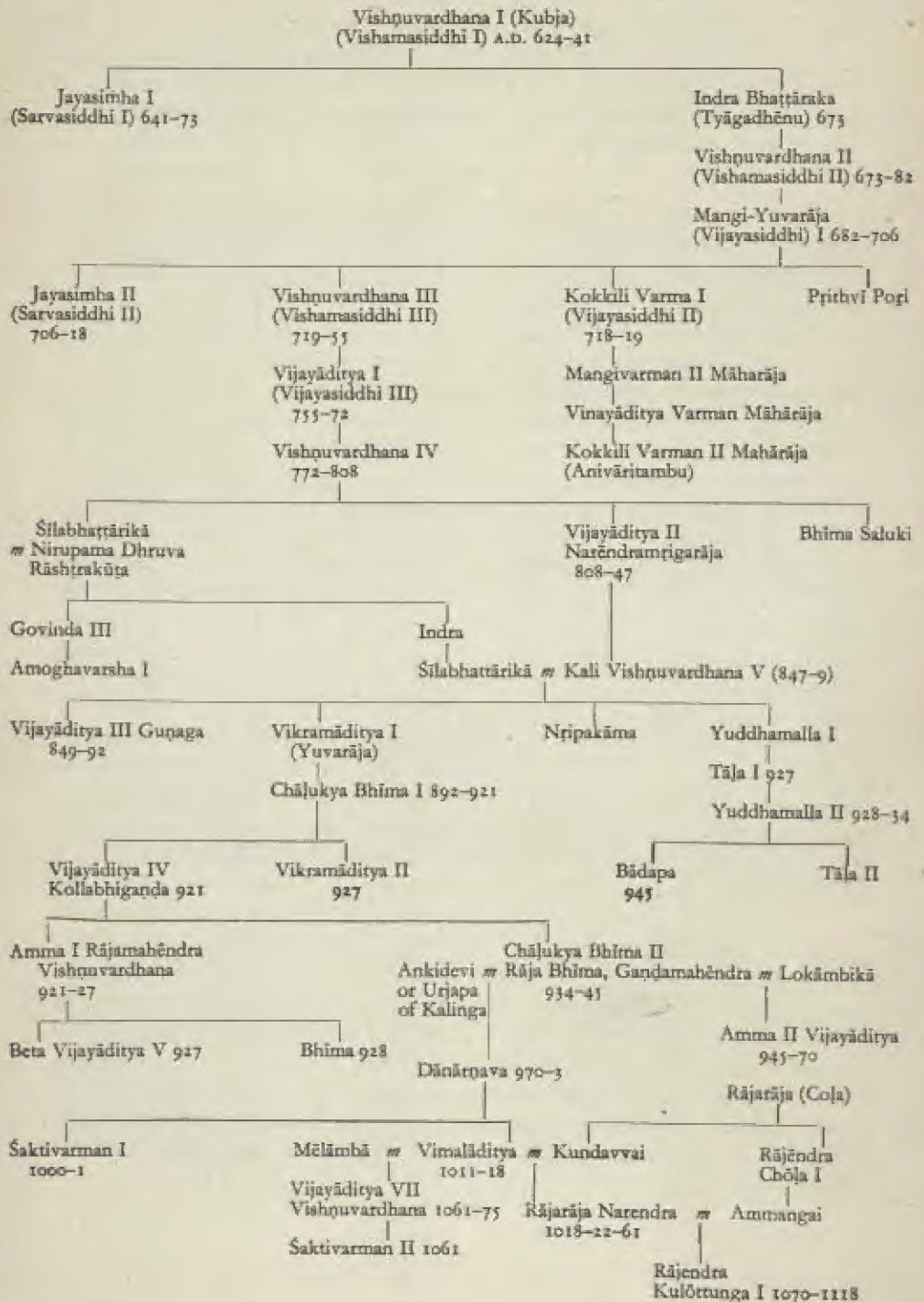
Monasteries, in fact, played an important part in the promotion of education and morality in the country, and, as might be expected, Śaiva institutions of this character were more numerous than the rest. There were two of them in Bezvada attached to the temples of Śiva and Mahāsēna which had been built by Vijayāditya II and Yuddhamalla I respectively. The monks fed the poor, tended the sick, consoled the afflicted, and set up schools for educating children and young people.

Literature

Telugu verse makes its first appearance in the inscriptions of the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III in the latter half of the ninth century. But the rise and progress of Telugu literature cannot be traced with any certainty as all evidence relating to its beginnings seems to have disappeared. Nanne Chōḍa, the author of the Telugu *Kumārasambhava*, says in his introduction that at first poetry was composed only in the *mārga* or classical style, and that the Chāḷukya king and others caused poems to be written in the *dēśi* or popular style and encouraged the literary use of the Telugu language in the Andhra country.¹ Though he does not give the name of the Chāḷukya ruler in question, there can be no doubt that he must have long preceded Rājarāja Narendra, the patron of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, whose *Mahābhārata* is the earliest extant work of Telugu literature. The birth of Telugu literature seems indeed to have been delayed and its growth hampered by the prevailing political conditions and literary tradition. The independence and integrity of Vengi were constantly threatened by foreign invasion and civil war; Telugu had not yet become the polished idiom that it was to be later, and next to Sanskrit, Kannaḍa was the language that commanded prestige and position in the literary world. Three great Kannaḍa poets, Ponna, Pampa, and Nāgavarma, were closely associated with Kammanāḍu and Vengipalu, i.e. Vangipuram in the Narasaraopet *tāluk* of the modern Guntur District; all three were Jainas. But surely Nannaya was not the first poet in the Telugu language, as his poetry shows a highly developed technique which presupposes a fairly long period of development. It is a fact, however, that with the exception of a few verses in the inscriptions, no work of the pre-Nannaya period has survived. Of Nannaya's work, the conditions under which it was done, and the probable cause of its being broken off in the middle, something has been said in our account of the reign of his patron Rājarāja. We may add that Nannaya is said to have undertaken the Telugu version of the Great Epic in order to counteract the influence of Pampa's *Bhārata*, a work conceived in the spirit of Jainism. Incomplete as it is, Nannaya's work is universally regarded as a masterpiece of art. It has set the norm for epic poetry in Telugu. Graceful and dignified in its diction, the poem has a charm rarely met with elsewhere in Telugu literature. As a model of sweet, mellifluous, and elegant verse, it remains unrivalled.

¹ *Kum*, i, 23.

APPENDIX A THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYA GENEALOGY



APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF VĒMULAVĀḌA

Vēmulavāḍa, also called Lēmulavāḍa, in the Karimnagar District of Hyderabad, was the capital of a dynasty of Chālukyas who ruled a considerable area as the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Their history, which forms a luminous footnote to the records of the suzerain dynasty, is to be gathered mainly from three inscriptions and from references to it in the Kannāḍa poet Pampa's *Bhārata* or *Vikramārjunavijaya*. Pampa was patronized by Arikesari II of Vēmulavāḍa, and the poet identified his patron with the epic hero Arjuna and thereby contrived to interweave several incidents of contemporary history into his narrative of the epic story, besides giving a reasonably accurate account of his patron's ancestors in the introduction to his work. The three inscriptions mentioned are: the Kollipara (Guntur District) copper plates of Arikesari I,¹ the Vēmulavāḍa rock inscription of Arikesari II,² and the Parbhani copper plates of Arikesari III.³

The rock inscription and the Parbhani plates trace the descent of the family from the sun; this is in keeping with the tradition that fifty-nine kings of the dynasty ruled in Ayodhyā before it came to settle in the Deccan; but it is well known that other records trace its descent from Brahmā or from the Moon.⁴ The genealogy of the line begins with Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I in all our sources except the Kollipara plates which carry it back four more generations. The genuineness of the Kollipara plates has been suspected on rather inconclusive grounds. The entire genealogy, including the four early generations found only in the Kollipara plates, may be set out as shown opposite.

The name of Yuddhamalla (II and III) occurs as Dugdhamalla in Pampa's work, probably owing to a scribal error. Much discussion has centred round the identity of the four predecessors of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I and the affiliation of the family with other branches of the Chālukyas. In his work called *Nāḍōja Pampa*, Mr. Timmappayya of Mangalore suggested the probable identity of Yuddhamalla I Vinayāditya with the homonymous ruler of the Lāṭa branch of the Chālukyas, the son of Jayasimhavarman, mentioned in the Balsar plates,⁵ and that of his four predecessors in order with Pulakeśin I, Kirtivarman I, Pulakeśin II of Bādāmi, and Jayasimhavarman Dharāśraya of Lāṭa, one of the sons of Pulakeśin II. Though the number of generations and some of the titles tally, there are difficulties, and after a careful discussion of the whole question Dr. Venkataramanayya has reached the conclusion that the suggested identifications cannot be accepted without more direct evidence.

A word may be said on chronology before entering on the details of individual reigns. The Parbhani plates are dated in the Śaka year 888 (A.D. 966), and this is the date for Arikesari III, the last ruler of this line. Eight generations intervene

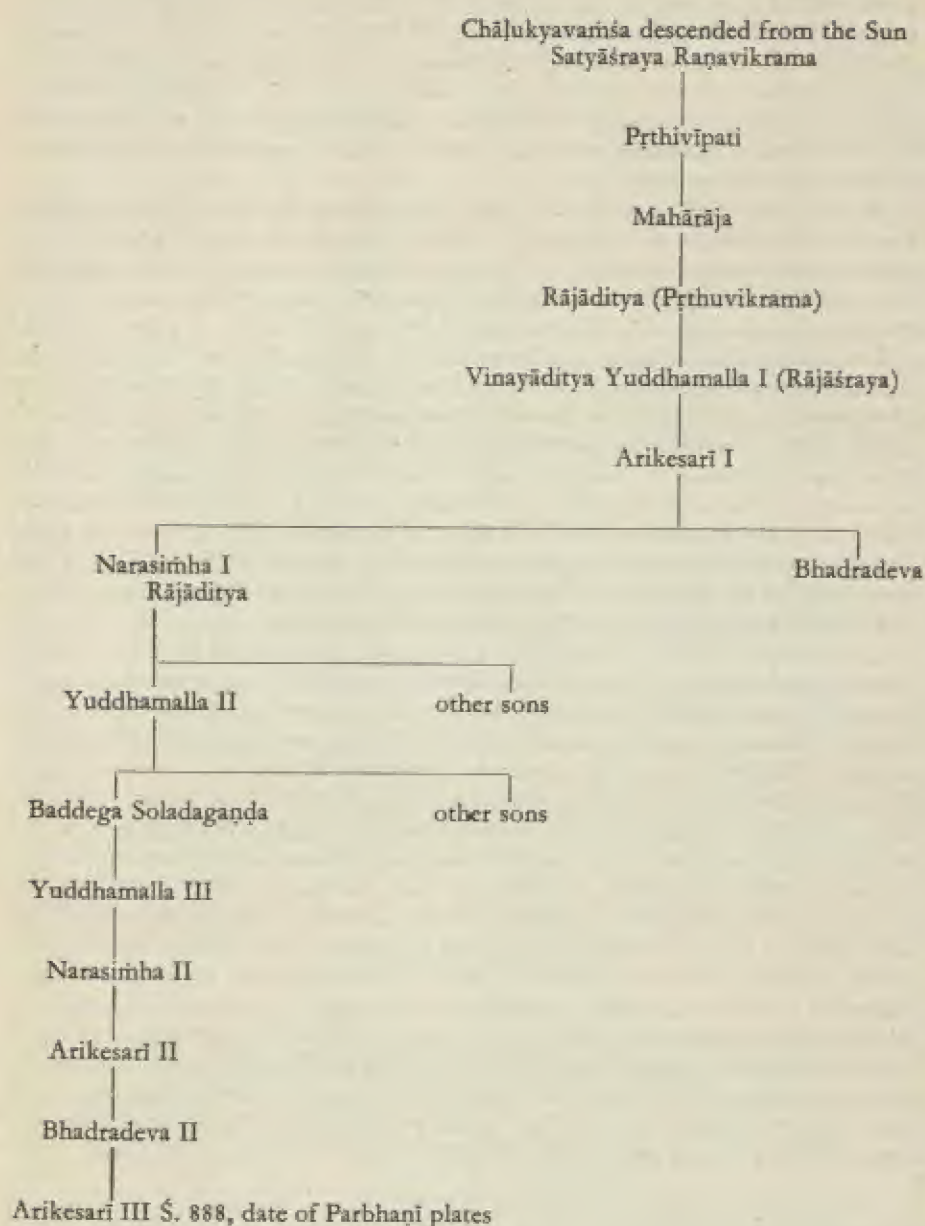
¹ Ed. M. S. Sarma, *Bhārati*, vii, 2 (Pramodūta, Śrāvaṇ).

² Ed. B. V. Krishna Rao, *JAHRS*, vi, 169-92, also reproducing Kollipara text.

³ Ed. S. N. Joshi, *JBLISM*, xiii, 5; text reproduced by Nathuram Premi in his *Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa*, pp. 85-92.

⁴ *DKD*, p. 339.

⁵ *JBBRAS*, xvi, 5.



between him and Yuddhamalla I; if we allow twenty-five years on an average to a generation, it is clear that 200 years must have elapsed between the end of the reign of Yuddhamalla I and the beginning of that of Arikesari III. If we assume that Arikesari III had been ruling for a period of something like ten years before the date of the Parbhani grant, we get to about A.D. 736 for the close of Yuddhamalla I's reign. As a matter of fact, we have the date A.D. 731 (Ś. 653) for him in the Balsar plates, probably referring to a time when he was still in his original home in the Lāṭa country.

Of Yuddhamalla I we get a very exaggerated eulogy from the Kollipaṇa plates issued by his son; he is compared to Rāma in valour and described as a *viśvarāt* (universal emperor); he is said to have subjugated the whole world with the aid of the boar-crest obtained by the royal family as a boon from Lord Nārāyaṇa, and among the kings who bowed at his feet are counted those of Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāśmīra, Kāmbhoja, Magadha, Mālava, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, and others. Such unhistorical fustian goes far to justify the doubts cast upon the genuineness of this record in general. In refreshing contrast to it, we get some definite facts about the king's activities from the later inscriptions and from Pampa. These facts are three in number: (1) he ruled the Sapādalakṣa country and his suzerainty was acknowledged by many feudatories; (2) he made artificial tanks of brick and mortar (*saudhamayīm*) in Podana, filled them with oil, and thus made provision, from his immense material resources, for the daily bathing of 300 elephants; (3) he captured the impregnable natural fortress of Chitrakūṭa; this last fact is mentioned only in the Vēmulavāḍa rock inscription.

If, as seems probable, Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla was one of the three sons of Dharaśraya Jayasimhavarman of Lāṭa, these facts admit of a plausible explanation. The times were difficult and unsettled, and offered scope for talented adventurers to win distinction and accumulate fame and treasure. One of Yuddhamalla's brothers, Pulakeśin, earned the gratitude of his suzerain Chālukya Vikramāditya II by effectively foiling the attempt of the Arabs to enter the Deccan in force; Vikramāditya bestowed on him the title of *avanijanātraya*, 'refuge for the people of the world', in recognition of his valour. Yuddhamalla found his opportunity in co-operation with Dantidurga, an energetic and ambitious youth of Rāshtrakūṭa extraction, who planned and carried out the overthrow of Kirttivarman II, the last Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi. Dantidurga is known to have fought battles at the Mahī, Mahānadi, and Narmadā rivers, and in the Madhyadeśa territory, before he delivered the decisive assault on the Chālukyan power. Yuddhamalla's rule in the Sapādalakṣa country and his capture of the fort of Chitor may be taken to be facets of Dantidurga's campaigns in which Yuddhamalla was the chief actor. Sapādalakṣa is most certainly Śākambharī, the modern Sāmbhar, in Eastern Rajputana, and the mention in the story of Chitor, which is on the direct line between Lāṭa and Sapādalakṣa, confirms this identification.¹ We know very little of the details of the

¹ N. Lakshminarayana Rao holds that the Sapādalakṣa country 'was situated not far from the Karimnagar District' (*JOR*, xviii, 41) and that it 'comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State, i.e. Nizamabad and a major portion of the Karimnagar District, though its actual extent and boundaries cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge' (*ibid.*, p. 42). He seeks support from a suggestion of M. Venkataramayya and from an inscription. Unfortunately, both turn out on careful scrutiny to be quite inconclusive. Venkatara-

wars of Dantidurga; but some of the mutilated verses in the Daśavatāra cave inscription have furnished the basis for a plausible suggestion that Dantidurga took the side of a certain Deva or Devarāja against the Gurjara Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I. Dantidurga's presence in Ujjain has been noticed already; he seems to have attacked Nāgabhaṭa's capital Medantapura (Merta) as he also did Śākambhari (Sāmbhar), then held by his feudatories of the Chāhumāna line; Dantidurga thus became for a time master of the entire Gurjara territory including Sapādalakṣa as well as the coastal tracts of Gujārāt.¹ It is obvious that we are concerned here not with any stable political formations, but only with the transient results of more or less successful military raids. We may thus assume that Yuddhamalla assisted Dantidurga in the capture of Chitor and the Sapādalakṣa country, and ruled there as his governor for a short while, and that the memory of this adventure—it was nothing more for either him or his collaborator—was carefully treasured by the family which afterwards treated Yuddhamalla as its *vamsakartā* (founder).

Podana is easily identified with Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of Hyderabad. This is a place with ancient associations, and an inscription of A.D. 1056 mentions the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu in that town by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. Its location, taken along with the provenance of the three inscriptions of the Vēmula-vāḍa Chālukyas, leaves little room for doubt that the centre of activity of the successors of Yuddhamalla I, if not of Yuddhamalla himself, must be located in the eastern half of Hyderabad known as Telingana; and Podana may be taken to mark a stage in this progress towards the east. Certain other facts tend to confirm this view. The Kollipara plates record a grant to a Śaiva ascetic of Elēśvara to the north of the celebrated mountain Śrīśaila in the Kurnool District. The temple of Āditya mentioned in the Vēmula-vāḍa inscription, and the land granted to it, both lay in Vēmula-vāḍa itself; and in the Parbhani plates this city is expressly described as the *rājadhāni* (capital) of Arikesari III. It is almost certain that Vēmula-

mayya says that 'Pampa and the Vēmula-vāḍa inscription both agree in stating that Bodana was situated in the Sapādalakṣa country ruled over by Yuddhamalla I' (ibid., xii, 264). In fact they do nothing of the kind, as can be seen from the extracts given in *JMU*, xv, 107-8. He cites also the commentary on *Yasastilaka* which interpretes Āsmantaka to mean Sapādalakṣanivāsin. This reference, however, only implies that this late commentator believed that Āsmantaka was also called Sapādalakṣa in his time. But is Āsmantaka the same as Āsmaka? The inscription cited by N. L. Rao really reads:

*Śrīman Mahāmaṇḍalīvaran Rājāditya-
rasar Kosavalam-savalakkheya-
bhāgamumam Chabbi-jōyi Yippatt-ondu-
sāsiramumam duṣṭa-nighraha viliṭṭa-
pratipālanadim prati-pālisuttum
rājadhāni Lembulavāḍeya-nelevāḍinōj
sukha-satikadhā-vinodadim
rājyūm-gṛhyuttum irādu*

(Tel. Inscriptions,
Chālukya No. 19 Lemulavāḍa,
Karimnagar Dt. Date C.V 8
A.D. 1083-4)

The sapādalakṣa (Savalakkha) of the inscription had the name Kosavalam, which alters the whole case. Sapādalakṣa by itself was originally the name of Siwalik, which was later transferred to the Sāmbhar region (*B.G.* i (i), 157, 184).

¹ *Bhārati*, Sarvadhari—Āśādha, pp. 179-81.

vāḍa became the headquarters of this branch of the Chālukyas at an early stage, probably under Arikesari I. It is quite likely, therefore, that a little earlier, towards the end of his career, Yuddhamalla accepted a fief in the neighbourhood of Bodhan as the reward of his services to Dantidurga, and that this territory subsequently became the base for the further achievements of the dynasty.

The son of Yuddhamalla I was Arikesari I, the donor of the Kollipara plates which, however, only praise his bravery in war in general terms without mentioning any specific facts of his career; they also give his many titles and say that he was an adept in such diverse subjects of knowledge as grammar, law, elephant-lore, logic, archery, and medicine. All the other sources agree that he captured and ruled Veṅgi together with Trikalīṅga by the strength of his arm; Pampa says that this happened in the reign of Nirupama, i.e. Dhruva (A.D. 780-93), which must have included the later part of the reign of Arikesari I. Dhruva, we have seen (p. 475), attacked Vishṇuvardhana IV of Veṅgi to punish him for his part in aiding Govinda II in the civil war which had just ended; and in this task Arikesari aided him greatly and was duly rewarded. We may assume that parts of Telingana definitely changed hands as a result of Arikesari's campaign and became part of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, the newly conquered territory being placed under the rule of Arikesari and his successors. It is quite probable that after this Vēmula-vāḍa became the seat of their power.

The next four generations after Arikesari I are dismissed in a single verse in the Vēmula-vāḍa inscription, and there is a virtual blank in the history of the line for practically a whole century, even Pampa and the Parbhani plates not adding much to our knowledge of the period. The kings in chronological order were Narasiṃha I Rājāditya, Yuddhamalla II, Baddega I, and Yuddhamalla III. Pampa says that Baddega was victorious in forty-two battles and earned the title *solada-gaṇḍa*, the soldier who knew no defeat; both Pampa and the Parbhani plates say that he captured Bhīma, 'of fierce strength in battle', as one might capture a ferocious crocodile in its own element, water. The Bhīma mentioned here is doubtless Chālukya Bhīma I who ascended the throne of Vengi after the death of his uncle Guṇaga Vijayāditya III in 892/3. But we learn from Eastern Chālukya records that Baddega suffered defeat at least once at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya who granted him peace on honourable terms.¹ Baddega's war with Chālukya Bhīma I came later. The details of the battles are not forthcoming. The analogy of the crocodile employed both by Pampa and the Parbhani plates has given rise to the suggestion that Bhīma was captured in the fortress in the midst of the Colair lake, the scene of many decisive battles.² But this was only an episode in the long-drawn hostilities between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas. Bhīma effected his escape from captivity with the aid of Kusumāyudha of the Mudugonda branch of Chālukyas, and immediately prepared himself to meet another Rāshtrakūṭa invasion.³

The next great ruler of Vēmula-vāḍa was Narasiṃha II, the son of Yuddhamalla III. As he was the father of Pampa's patron Arikesari II, Pampa describes his exploits at some length. The Vēmula-vāḍa inscription attributes to him the single-

¹ N. Venkataramanayya, *Eastern Chālukyas*, pp. 126-7.

² *Bhārati*, *ibid.*, pp. 389-90.

³ *Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 139.

handed conquest of the Seven Mālavas, a victory over the army of the Gurjjara-rāja, and says that he put the final seal on his fame by a victory over a group of kings on the hill in Kālapriya.¹ Pampa furnishes the important datum that the name of the Gurjara king was Mahīpala on whom Narasimha descended like a thunderbolt, compelling him to escape as best he could from his capital in a disorganized flight. Pampa also mentions a victory of Narasimha over the Lāṭas as the first of Narasimha's achievements, and adds that he had caused his horses to drink the water of the Ganges before he established his fame with his sword at Kālapriya.

Once more we must turn to Rāshtrakūṭa history for the elucidation of these statements. The name of the Lāṭa enemy of Narasimha is not given. But Lāṭa had been brought under his sway by Rāshtrakūṭa Krishṇa II. Evidently there was need for its reconquest by Narasimha II at the very beginning of that expedition to the north which he undertook in the service of his suzerain Indra III. This fact may be explained in one of two ways: either Lāṭa had slipped out of Rāshtrakūṭa control and become an independent State like Mālava (the seven Mālavas of the inscription and of Pampa); or possibly the entire region, Mālava and Lāṭa included, had passed under the suzerainty of the Pratihāras, and the campaign against Mahīpala must then be taken to have begun with the conquest of Lāṭa. However this may be, there is no doubt that the campaign of Indra III and Narasimha II resulted in Lāṭa and Mālava being brought for a time definitely under Rāshtrakūṭa control (the Paramāras being installed as vassals in Mālava), and in Mahīpala's losing his kingdom and being temporarily driven into exile. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV state that Indra's elephants made the precincts (*prāṅgaṇa*) of Kālapriya uneven with the strokes of their tusks, that his horses crossed the Jumna 'as deep as the ocean', and that after his expedition, the city Mahodaya (great prosperity) became Kuśasthali (a meadow).² Pampa also mentions the waters of the Ganges and Kālapriya in the same verse. Kālapriya has generally been taken to be the same as Mahākāla of Ujjain; but this equation is not justified since Mahākāla and Kālapriya are really two very different names; and it has been rightly suggested that Kālapriya should be taken to be modern Kalpi where many other armies are known to have crossed the Jumna,³ and where we find a temple of Kālapriya existing today.⁴ Kalpi is on the direct route from the south to Kanauj, the Pratihāra capital on the Ganges, whose destruction was the culmination of Indra's campaign, as is seen from the clever play upon the alternative names of the city (Mahodaya and Kuśasthali) in the Cambay plates; moreover, there would be no point in a great poet like Pampa making another reference to Ujjain after he had disposed of the conquest of Mālava in an earlier verse. Narasimha is seen thus to have played a leading part in securing the resounding success that attended Indra's victorious northern campaign about A.D. 916; this he did, according to the Vēmulaṇḍa inscription, by gaining a decisive victory with his own troops, unaided by those of Indra, at Kalpi, where Mahīpala had taken his stand to oppose the advance of the

¹ The text of the inscription is so ambiguously worded that it is not easy to decide whether the pillar (of victory) mentioned in it is literally a stone pillar (*śaile śāmbhe*) or merely a metaphor: *Kālapriya rājakadambakarya śāmbhe śva-śauryaṃ vililekha śaile*.

² *EI*, vii, 26 (v. 19).

³ By N. Venkataramanayya in *Bhūratī*, Sarvadhari, p. 398.

⁴ Altekar, *Rashtrakutas*, p. 102, n. 44.

southern army against his capital. Narasimha's queen was Jākavve, probably a sister of Indra III and mother of Arikesari II,¹ the patron of Pampa.

Arikesari II was, according to Pampa, cradled in Indra's arms—a reference at once to Indra III and to the king of the gods, calculated to pave the way for the identification of Arikesari with Arjuna, the epic hero who was the son of Indra. Arikesari married Indra's daughter Rēvakanirmaḍi, according to the Vēmūlavāḍa inscription. The Parbhāṇi plates, however, say that Lokāmbikā, also of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, was the name of Arikesari's queen. It is not clear whether Lokāmbikā was a title of Rēvakanirmaḍi or of a second queen. Both the Vēmūlavāḍa inscription and Pampa indulge in much high-flown praise of Arikesari, and so too do the Parbhāṇi plates. Without stopping to reproduce these vaguely resounding eulogies, we may summarize the historical data as follows: (1) Arikesari gave protection to a Chālukya Bijja (Vijayāditya) who sought his protection against the anger of Govindarāja, who was his *sakala-sakravartī*, i.e. most probably the suzerain of both Bijja and Arikesari; (2) when Arikesari sheltered Vijayāditya, Govinda sent many *sāmāntas* against him; Arikesari defeated all of these and thus became *sāmānta-cūḍāmaṇi*; (3) he then fought against Govinda himself and defeated him, bestowing the empire on Baddega who had come to him for aid; lastly (4) with only one elephant he overthrew Bappuva, the younger brother of Kakkala, when Bappuva attacked him with a host of these beasts.

The most satisfactory explanation of all these statements can be offered again by a reference to Rāshtrakūṭa history and the relations between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas.² Govinda IV had deposed his elder brother Amoghavarṣa II and seized the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in A.D. 930, an act which set some of his courtiers against him. The dissenting nobles found support within the royal family from Govinda's paternal uncle Baddega and Baddega's more ambitious son Krishṇa III. Govinda banished them and they fled to the Cedi court in Tripurī because Baddega's queen was a Cedi princess, a daughter of Yuvarājadeva I. From there they seem to have carried on their intrigues against Govinda who on his part evidently did little to retrieve his popularity with his subjects. Arikesari II of Vēmūlavāḍa, although the brother-in-law of Govinda, seems to have joined his enemies and espoused the cause of Baddega. Another powerful feudatory prince who acted in the same way was the Gaṅga Būṭuga, who visited Baddega in Tripurī and married his daughter, hoping, with his aid, in due course to carry out his designs on his ancestral throne as against his elder brother, the ruling Gaṅga prince Rājamalla III. Meanwhile, in another direction, Govinda's policy, at first apparently successful, eventually landed him in inextricable difficulties. It was a period of confusion and disputed succession in Veṅgi from the close of Indra III's reign. Soon after his accession, Govinda had supported Yuddhamalla II against his rivals, and virtually converted Veṅgi into a Rāshtrakūṭa province, all real power passing into the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭa officials. This was resented by Chālukya Bhīma II of the elder branch who got into touch with the anti-Govinda party and was supported by them either openly or in secret. When Chālukya Bhīma II began a war of independence, Govinda sent an army under his loyal nobles to put down the rebellion. But before this army could win through to success, another rebellion threatened its rear as Bijja or Vijayāditya

¹ A very plausible suggestion of Timmappayya, op. cit., p. 46.

² *Eastern Chālukyas*, pp. 165-77.

of the Mudugonda branch of Chālukyas, who was ruling the territory adjoining the Vēmulavāḍa principality in the south, rose also. When Govinda sent yet another army against him, he appealed to Arikesari for aid, which was readily granted, and Govinda's forces were defeated. Baddega, who was watching these developments from Tripuri, was then sent for, and was perhaps proclaimed king at Vēmulavāḍa, and Govinda's reign came to an abrupt end, Baddega Amoghavarṣa III and Chālukya Bhīma II both entering on the rule of their respective kingdoms in the years A.D. 934-5.

The last of the achievements attributed to Arikesari, the overthrow of Bappuva, is not easy to explain so satisfactorily. He may be the same as the Bappuka who, together with Dantiga, opposed Amoghavarṣa III and was slain as a result by Kṛishṇa III.¹

In the portion of the Vēmulavāḍa inscription recording the grant, besides the many picturesque titles of Arikesari II which are applied again to his grandson Arikesari III in the Parbhani plates, we get the name of his *mahāsāndhivigrahi* Guṇakarasa, of Nāgamārya, the *satrādhipāla* (superintendent of feeding houses) of King Baddega (Amoghavarṣa III) and of Nāgamārya's son Peddapārya, the *tantrapāla* of King Guṇākara (i.e. Arikesari II). At Peddapārya's request, 100 *niwartanas* of arable land were given by Arikesari II on the occasion of the *uttarāyana samikrānti* for a *satra* for the feeding of persons who came to worship at the Āditya shrine built by him, and another field of eight *niwartanas* for a fresh water tank (*pānīya-bhūmi-kṣetram*). The enumeration of the witnesses to the gifts recorded is also of some interest to the curious, since the list includes in order the four temples of Vēmulavāḍa, three Śaiva teachers (*vyākhyāni-bhaṭṭārakas*) whose names are Mallikārjuna, Vyaktalingi, and Vidyārāśi, and lastly nine *śreṣṭhis* headed by Candraśreṣṭhi. The field which was thus bestowed was subject to a *siddhāya* (money tax) of twelve *drammas*.

Of the reigns of the next two rulers who end the line, Bhadradeva II and Arikesari III, no political events are mentioned in the Parbhani plates, which record a grant by Arikesari III to the Jaina temple built in Vēmulavāḍa by his father Baddega, and known by the name Śubhadhāma-jinālaya, for repairs and the maintenance of worship. In the grant Arikesari III is described as the feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛishṇarājadeva (III). But the name of the donee makes the grant a document of the highest value; it is that of the celebrated Jaina polyhistor Somadevasūri, the author of the *Yaśodhara-carita* and of the *Syādvādopaniṣad* and other works, highly respected by many princes in the land who did honour to themselves by honouring him. We know from his oft-quoted colophon to the *Yasastilaka-campū* that he composed that work in the Śaka year 881 (A.D. 959), i.e. seven years before the date of the Parbhani plates, when Kṛishṇa III was still residing in his camp at Mēlpāḍi, after his campaigns in the south, and his feudatory Badyaga, the eldest son of Arikesari II, was ruling at a place called Gaṅgadhārā characterized as overflowing with wealth. Somadeva's spiritual ancestry is explained thus in the Parbhani plates. In the Gauda-saṅgha there was a famous scholar by name Yaśodeva; he was a *muni* (sage) who by his *tapas* (austerities) had established contact with the Śāsanadevatas. His pupil was Nemideva, an expert in Jaina doctrine and 'an axe to the pride' of the disputants

¹ Ibid., p. 178, n. 1.

of rival faiths. Nemideva had many pupils of great excellence, of whom the most famous was Śrī Somadeva, the abode of learning, the seat of fame, whose beauty was matched by his high character. In the colophon to his *Nītivākyāmrta*, probably written after the date of the Parbhāṇī plates, Somadeva calls himself, among other things, the beloved pupil (*priyatīya*) of Śrī Nemidevabhagavān. His affinity with the Gauḍa-saṅgha has been traced in his references to Dharmāvaloka,¹ a ruler of Rāshṭrakūṭa extraction in Bodh Gayā, in the tenth century A.D. Pampa and Somadeva, both Jains, two of the greatest names in medieval Indian literature, also shed their lustre on the court of the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa.

¹ By Dr. V. Raghavan, *New IA*, vi, 3 June 1943, pp. 68-9.

PART VIII

THE YĀDAVAS OF SEUNĀDEŚA

by PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR

- I. Origin of the dynasty and early rulers.
- II. The Independent Sovereigns—Bhillama V—A.D. *c.* 1175-1191; Jaitugi—A.D. 1191-1210(?); Śīrṇhaṇa—*c.* A.D. 1210(?)-47; Kṛishṇa—A.D. 1246-60; Mahādeva—A.D. 1260-70; Ammaṇa—A.D. 1270-1; Rāmachandra—A.D. 1271-1311; and Śaṅkaradeva—A.D. 1311-12.
- III. The Administrative system—king, feudatories and viceroys, council of ministers, provincial and district officers, prisons and the village *panchāyats*, sources of revenue, military organization, and navy.
- IV. Religion—Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, the Lingāyat sect and new religious movements.
- V. Social conditions—caste system, women.
- VI. Education and literature.
- VII. Economic conditions.

ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY AND EARLY FEUDATORY RULERS

THE history of the Yādava dynasty, which dominated the politics of the Deccan during the thirteenth century, goes back to the end of the ninth century. It is, however, not yet fully known during its earlier period. Few contemporary inscriptions have been found, and Hemādri, who has given us an account of the achievements of the house, contents himself by merely recording the names of its early rulers. As he himself lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, his information about the kings of the tenth and eleventh centuries is naturally often incomplete and inaccurate.

The Yādavas profess to be descended from Yadu, a Purāṇic hero, and claim that their ancestors first lived at Mathurā and then migrated to Dvāra-
vatī or Dvārakā in Kathiawar. This belief of theirs is in perfect accordance with Purāṇic tradition, but we need not examine its historical accuracy, for it refers to times for which no records exist and has hardly any bearing on the history of the dynasty during our period.

We may perhaps, however, accept the statement which occurs in the earliest Yādava records that they were originally immigrants into the Deccan from Dvārakā.¹ There is in fact nothing inherently improbable in this and it may well have actually been the case, since one of their feudatory families in Khandesh is known to have been an emigrant from Valabhi, another city in Kathiawar.² No Kathiawar records have, however, so far been found to prove that any Yādava family migrated thence to Mahārāshṭra in the ninth century, nor do the actions or policies of the Yādavas show any anxiety to recover their patrimony there or to re-establish any political or cultural connexion with that country. The story in the Jain tradition of how the pregnant mother of the founder of the dynasty was saved by a Jain saint from the conflagration which destroyed Dvārakā and how she was later delivered of a son in her new home, looks more like mythological legend than actual history. The pretension that the Yādavas were once lords of Dvārakā is therefore so far historically unproved, and may be due rather to the fact that a descent from Yadu is claimed by the family than to its founders ever having

¹ A Yādava family was indeed ruling at Sindhapura in Kathiawar in the seventh century A.D. (*EI*, i, 12), but it had no connexion with Mathurā, nor are its descendants known to have migrated to Dvārakā.

² *EI*, ii, 225.

really been emigrants from that city. It is interesting to note that the Hoyasālas, who profess to be the descendants of Yadu, make the same claim to have been formerly lords of the city of Dvārakā.

Inscriptions from the Karnatak disclose the existence of some petty Yādava feudatories ruling in the Dharvar District towards the end of the ninth century,¹ which is just about the time when the Yādava house was first becoming prominent in the Nāsik District. As, however, there are no contemporary names common to these families and the Yādavas proper, it is not possible to claim a Karnatak origin for this group, though it is true that many proper names which appear to be Canarese do occur among those of the ministers of the family in later times.

The early patrimony of the clan lay in northern Mahārāshṭra, where also was situated its later capital Devagiri, whilst Marāṭhi literature flourished at the royal court in later times. We may therefore most probably presume that the Yādava family was in fact an indigenous Marāṭha sept, which, on rising to political eminence, began to profess a descent from Yadu and to claim to have emigrated from Dvārakā in Kathiāwar.

The first member of the family to raise its fortunes and give it distinction was Dṛiḍhāprahāra. Jain tradition records that he was a posthumous child, and that his mother was a Yādava lady rescued from the burning of Dvārakā by Jainaprabhasūri, and it tells us how people accepted him as leader and began to pay him taxes because he protected them from robbers.² About A.D. 860, which is the probable time of Dṛiḍhāprahāra, conditions were somewhat unsettled in Nasik and Khandesh owing to the weak rule of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavardha I and his wars with the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja I. It is possible that this state of affairs may have encouraged the predatory tendencies of the Vindhyān tribes, from whose raids the people of Nasik and the Kandesh may have suffered. Dṛiḍhāprahāra proved his ability as a warrior by protecting them, and thus brought his family into prominence. He founded the city of Chandrādityapura, the modern Chandor, forty miles north-east of Nasik, and made it his headquarters. It was, however, Seṇachandra, the son of Dṛiḍhāprahāra, who first secured feudatory status for his family; his house and patrimony continued to be named after him as Seṇavāmśa and Seṇadeśa down to the thirteenth century, not only in Mahārāshṭra but also in the Karnatak and Telangana.³ He founded a new city on the Sindineri called after himself Seṇapura, and made it his capital. This town is probably the same as the modern Sinnar in the Nasik District. It seems that Seṇachandra helped the Rāshṭrakūṭas in their wars with the Pratihāras and was given feudatory status in recognition of his services. His principality probably did not extend

¹ *Inscriptions from Bombay Karnatak*, nos. 11, 22.

² *LA*, xii, 124.

³ See *LA*, xiv, 314; *EJ*, xiii, 198.

beyond the Nasik District. He may be taken to have flourished from about c. A.D. 880 to 900.

The next three rulers of the family, Dādhiyappa, Bhillama I, and Rājiga, are shadowy figures who ruled from about c. A.D. 900 to 950. Then came Vandugi or Baḍḍiga, during whose reign the family came into political prominence owing to his marriage with Vohiyavvā, a princess of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa family and a daughter of Dhorappa, a younger brother of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III. This prince was a notable warrior who took an active part in the numerous campaigns of his feudal lord and uncle-in-law Kṛishṇa III. It thus is quite possible that Kṛishṇa may have sanctioned an increase in the *jāgīr* of his enthusiastic son-in-law, but the precise extent of the Yādava principality under Baḍḍiga is not known.

The next ruler, Dhāḍiyasa (c. A.D. 970-85), is again one of whom little is really known. It was during his reign that the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was overthrown, but we do not know whether he offered any help to his imperial relative at this critical juncture. Not blood relationship, but the exigencies of the situation, usually dictate the course of rulers in political crises, and we find Bhillama II, the son and successor of Dhāḍiyasa, transferring his allegiance to the Chālukyas, who had brought about the fall of the Rāshtrakūṭas, though he had himself married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess named Lakshmī.¹ Bhillama in fact became a staunch supporter of the new Chālukya empire founded by Tailapa II; 'he compelled', says a verse in his own copper-plate charter, 'the goddess of Royalty to remain as a chaste wife in the house of Raṇarājaraṇga (Tailapa II)'. He took an active part in the war with the Paramāras, which eventually ended in the overthrow and death of King Muñja.² The enthusiastic assistance thus given to the Chālukya emperor evidently did not remain unrewarded, for we find the Ahmadanagar District added to his patrimony about this time. It is possible that some outlying territories of the Paramāra dominion in the direction of the Khandesh may also have been allotted to him, though so far we have no direct evidence supporting this view.

As a result of his victories, Bhillama acquired the title of Vijayābharāṇa and he celebrated his success by erecting at Sangamner a temple to Śiva bearing the title of Vijayābharṇeśvara. The earliest Yādava grant yet recovered is a grant in favour of this temple given by this king. He eventually shifted his capital to Sindinagar, the modern Sinnar in the Nāsik District.³

¹ The view of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar that Jhañjha, the father of Lakshmī, was the Śilāhāra king of Thana of that name, is untenable. The latter prince flourished between c. A.D. 910 and 930, and it seems unlikely that a prince who ruled from c. A.D. 980 to 1000 could have been his son-in-law.

² Sangamner plates, v, 16.

³ The Śilāhāra ruler Aparājitadeva (A.D. 975-1010) claims to have afforded protection to a king named Bhillama, who seems to be the contemporary Yādava ruler. Aparājitadeva was a partisan of the Rāshtrakūṭas while Bhillama was an adherent of the Chālukyas; it is therefore difficult to conjecture how the former could have helped the latter. Perhaps the statement refers to some alliance between the two at the time when both were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

No details concerning the reign of the next ruler, Vesugi, who had married Nayillādevī, a daughter of a Chālukya feudatory of Gujarāt, have come to light up to the present. He may be presumed to have ruled from about c. A.D. 1005 to 1025. He was succeeded by Bhīllama III, who is known to us from a grant made by him.¹ We may place his reign between about A.D. 1020 and 1040. The status of the Yādava family was raised during his reign by his marriage with Āvalladevī, a daughter of his feudal lord, the Chālukya emperor Jayasīṃha I. He naturally took an active part in his father-in-law's campaigns and may well have been of considerable help to him in his wars with the Paramāra ruler Bhoja I.

The next two rulers were Yādugi and Bhīllama IV. Their reigns lasted for only about ten years altogether and the fortunes of the family suffered reverses during this period owing to causes not yet known to us. After the death of Bhīllama IV, his son Seṇachandra II, we are told, restored and raised the fortunes of his family as the god Hari had once restored those of the whole earth during his boar incarnation. In the light of the recent discovery of a new copper plate of this ruler,² his accession has to be placed in c. A.D. 1050. The efforts of Seṇachandra met with considerable success; he acquired the title of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and became also the overlord of several sub-feudatory families, one of which was then ruling in Khandesh. The Yādava administrative organization was also improved during his rule; in A.D. 1069 his ministry consisted of seven officers who all boasted high-sounding titles.³

Seṇachandra was further a skilful diplomat. When the struggle for the throne arose between the two brothers in his overlord's family, he was able to judge correctly as to which would ultimately be successful. He threw in his lot with the younger son Vikramāditya and offered him substantial aid in overthrowing his elder brother, the reigning emperor Someśvara II. Victory was by no means easily attained, for the revolution in the Chōla capital had put an end to Vikramāditya's hopes of receiving any help from that quarter; the new Chōla king Vīra-Rājendra in fact had championed the cause of Someśvara II. Erammadeva, Seṇachandra's eldest son and destined heir, co-operated with his father in these campaigns against Someśvara II.⁴ He succeeded his father in about 1085 and may be presumed to have ruled down to about c. A.D. 1105. No events of his reign are known to us. He was succeeded in turn by his brother Śīṃharāja, who is credited with having helped in the completion of the *Karpūravraṭa* of his overlord Vikramāditya VI

¹ Kalas Budrak grant, *I.A.*, xvii, 117.

² The Deolali (Ahmadnagar District) copper plate of this ruler, exhibited in the Annamalai session of the All-India Oriental Conference on 26 Dec. 1955, is dated in Śaka 974 or A.D. 1052.

³ *I.A.*, xii, 120.

⁴ The Aśvi record gives the credit of the enthronement of Vikramāditya VI to Erammadeva, whilst that of Hemādri attributes it to his father Seṇachandra. We can perhaps reconcile the divergent testimony of the two authorities in the way indicated in the text.

by procuring for him a Karpūra elephant. His reign may be placed between about A.D. 1105 and 1120.

Yādava history again becomes obscure during the fifty years following the death of Siṃharāja. A Yādava king named Seṇachandra appears to be ruling in the Nasik District in A.D. 1142,¹ but he is unknown to Hemādri. He was succeeded in c. 1145 by Mallugi who continued to be loyal to his feudal lord Tailapa III; for we learn that his general Dādā and the latter's son Mahīdhara were a constant menace to the troops of Bijjaṇa who were seeking to oust Tailapa.² Mallugi naturally took advantage of the unsettled times in which he was living and sought to extend his kingdom towards Berar by capturing Paṇṇakheṭa (the modern Patkhed in the Akola District) and then invading the kingdom of the Kākatīya ruler Rudra. This invasion was merely undertaken as a threat and embarrassment to the rulers concerned and did not result in any territorial gains. Mallugi's reign came to an end about A.D. 1160.

Mallugi had two sons, Amaragāṅgeya and Karṇa. The former succeeded him, but died after a very short reign and was followed on the throne by his son Amaramallugi. After a short time the latter seems to have been overpowered by the usurper Kāliyaballāḷa, whose precise place in the genealogy is uncertain. Eventually a period of anarchy was ended by Bhillama V, a son of Karṇa,³ who managed to secure the Yādava throne for his branch of the family in about A.D. 1175.

¹ As proved by the Anjneri inscription, *IA*, xii, 126. Since he is not mentioned in the genealogy of Hemādri, R. G. Bhandarkar took him to be a sub-feudatory of the Yādavas.

² *Sūktimuktāvalī*, vv. 5-9; *EHD*, p. 184.

³ The genealogy of Bhillama outlined above differs from that given by Hemādri or the Palthan plates of Rāmachandra. It is based upon the Gadag record issued by Bhillama himself, who may well be presumed to have given correct information about the name of his own father to the drafter of the grant. Hemādri flourished a century later and may not have had correct knowledge. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, thought that the Gadag inscription was a forgery, and accepted Hemādri's account of the parentage of Bhillama.

II

THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS

Bhillama V

BHILLAMA V was the first Yādava ruler to claim imperial status and assume the imperial titles. This he did in about A.D. 1187, just four years before his death, at which time he also initiated a new reckoning of his regnal years. But his career had really begun at least a decade earlier.¹ In order properly to understand the significance of his reign, it is essential first to take a bird's-eye view of the political condition of the Deccan during the period.

The Chālukyan power began to decline from about A.D. 1150. Tailapa III, who had then just ascended the imperial throne, proved unable to prevent the gradual usurpation of his power by his Kalachuri feudatory Bijjala. He was in fact a very weak ruler; even a much inferior vassal like the Kākatiya Proja had actually taken him prisoner on the battlefield. No wonder then that a masterful personality like Bijjala was easily able to win an independent status for his family against such feeble opposition. We find him claiming imperial titles in A.D. 1162, immediately after the death of his nominal sovereign Taila III, though in fact he had begun his own regnal reckoning six years earlier.

Empires in Ancient India were generally not unitary states. They usually consisted of a loose federation of a number of feudal states, each of which was, as a rule, individually anxious to throw off the imperial yoke at the earliest convenient opportunity. This was the form of the Chālukyan empire. There were a number of feudatories under Taila III, like the Kākatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvārāsamudra, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Śilāhāras of Konkan and the Yādavas of northern Mahārāshtra; these were not at all over-anxious to recognize the imperial claims of Bijjala. The latter on his part failed to consolidate his power and was assassinated in A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his sons Soyideva, Saṅkama, Āhavamalla, and Simhaṇa in rapid succession; none of these showed any ability as a ruler. The Kalachūris were supplanted by Someśvara IV, a son of Tailapa III, about A.D. 1183.

While these political revolutions were succeeding each other with lightning

¹ The year A.D. 1184 which is given as the initial year of his reign by some records (e.g. *ASR*, 1930-4, p. 244) may be the year when he succeeded in making himself the complete master of the possessions of the main branch of the family.

speed in the heart of the Chālukyan empire, its outlying feudatories like the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas, who naturally could not be effectively controlled from the centre, were maturing their own imperial plans. The Hoysaḷas had once before become almost independent in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana, but were eventually curbed by Vikramāditya VI. Ballāḷa, who was now on the throne, being an able ruler, was anxious to achieve what his grandfather had failed to realize. He refused to recognize the imperial claims of the weak successors of Bijjala and fought two engagements with them in 1179.¹ From 1180 onwards we find him assuming the title Rājādhirāja and from 1185 the full imperial titles Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Pratāpachakravartī.²

When the general political situation was so unsettled, it is no wonder that the Yādavas also should have attempted to secure imperial status for their family. For a time Mallugi was loyal to Tailapa. The victories of his general Dādā over Bijjala had probably been won while he was professing to fight for his feudal lord. When, however, Tailapa had eventually succumbed to Bijjala, the warfare carried on by Mallugi against the latter, his troops being then commanded by Mahīdhara, a son of Dādā, must have been undertaken with the object of overthrowing the Kalachuri power and acquiring imperial status for himself.

Mallugi, however, did not live long enough to carry out his imperial plans and his death in A.D. 1170 was followed by chaos at the Yādava capital, a state of confusion which prevented the family from taking any effective part in contemporary political developments. Mallugi was succeeded by his eldest son Amaragāṅgeya, who seems to have died after a short reign. If Hemādri's account is to be trusted here, Amaragāṅgeya was succeeded by Amaramallugi, Govindarāja, and Kāliyaballāḷa. We have no definite information either about the mutual relations of these rulers or about the causes which led to their quick disappearance. There is no doubt that the rapid succession of a number of inefficient rulers at the capital seemed to render every prospect of the Yādavas gaining the imperial position almost hopeless.

While the descendants of Amaragāṅgeya were thus engaged in fighting with one another and thus weakening the Yādava power, his brother Karṇa and the latter's son Bhillama were laying the foundations of another Yādava principality which was soon destined to extend its sway over the whole of the Deccan. About Karṇa's career we have no definite information. He was probably a district officer or a sub-feudatory under his brother Amaragāṅgeya. He had an able son, Bhillama, who was quick to realize that the weak Kalachūri imperial rulers were no longer able to protect their petty vassals. He therefore decided not to fight with his cousins for a share in their small patrimony, but rather to bring under his sway the territories

¹ EC xi, Dg. no. 44; vi, Md. no. 33.

² Ibid. v, Hn. no. 70; Ak. no. 127.

governed by a number of small kings in the Konkan and central Mahārāshṭra. Like Shivaji in a later age, he began his career by capturing forts in the Konkan. He first defeated the king of Śrīvardhana, a port in the Konkan, and then the ruler of Pratyantagaḍa, which is obviously the modern fort of Prachandagada or Torana in the former Bhor State. He then proceeded towards Sholapur where he put to death Billapa, king of Maṅgalaveshṭaka or Mangalavedhe, a small town in that district.

Bhillama had thus succeeded in securing a fairly large principality for himself in the northern Konkan and central Mahārāshṭra, whilst affairs at the ancestral Yādava capital were rapidly going from bad to worse. Hemādri tells us that the Royal Fortune of the Yādava family abandoned the legitimate heirs and resorted to Bhillama, an uncle of the weakling on the throne, being attracted by his sterling merit and splendid qualities. In plain language this statement of the court poet means that Bhillama eventually felt himself justified in intervening in the affairs at Sinner, setting aside his cousin, the ruling king, and ascending the throne himself. The precise date of this intervention is not known, but we may not be far wrong in placing it about A.D. 1180.

Bhillama was not content merely to get back his family patrimony in northern Mahārāshṭra; he was anxious also to extend its boundaries and influence. The situation in the Karnatak was very much confused and unsettled owing to the triangular fight for supremacy which was going on among the Kalachūris, the Chālukyas, and the Hoysaḷas, but Bhillama does not seem to have thought at first of intervening in it. He turned his attention rather to Mālwa and Gujarāt,¹ in both of which provinces the situation was very favourable for an outside invader. Ajayapāla, the Chaulukya king of Gujarāt, had alienated his Jain subjects, and eventually lost his life at the hands of his own doorkeeper in 1176. His successor Mūlraja II (1176-78) was a mere child, as was also his younger brother who succeeded him in 1178. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Chaulukya government, Vindhya-varman reconquered Mālwa from the Gurjaras and re-established the Paramāra power in its ancestral home. Vindhya-varman, however, was unable to establish himself firmly in Mālwa and moreover the struggle with the Chaulukyas, though successful in its immediate outcome, had weakened his power and depleted his resources.

Bhillama therefore turned his attention to Mālwa and Gujarāt as territories which offered prospects to an invader. The statement in the Mutugi inscrip-

¹ There is no definite and decisive evidence to show that Bhillama's raids in Mālwa and Gujarāt preceded his wars with the Hoysaḷas. But we do know definitely that his hands were quite full with his southern expeditions from A.D. 1185 onwards, and thus it is almost certain that his invasion of Mālwa and Gujarāt must have been planned and carried out earlier when he had no danger to apprehend from the south. For the Kalachūris and the Chālukyas were then engaged in a deadly struggle with each other and with the Hoysaḷas. By first defeating the Paramāras and the Gujarāt Chaulukyas, Bhillama must have aimed at making his northern frontier safe, so that he might have no embarrassments from that direction when later engaged in the deadly struggle with the Chālukyas and Hoysaḷas.

tion,¹ dated A.D. 1189, that he was 'a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas' and 'the dread roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans, the Gurjaras' seems to be more than merely hyperbolic. Yādava armies did actually overrun the whole of Mālwā and Lāṭa or southern Gujarāt. The Chaulukyas, who were just then preoccupied with the problem presented by the Muslim invasions, could offer no effective opposition, and some of Bhillama's forces apparently penetrated the country as far as Marwar. For Kelhaṇa, the Chāhamāna king of Naḍḍūla, the modern Nadol in the former Jodhpur State, claims to have defeated Bhillama's troops in that district. His opponent was far away from his base and so he must have decided to return home on meeting with strong opposition at the hands of Kelhaṇa. In the Mutugi inscription Bhillama is also credited with having defeated the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Nepāla, and Pañchāla. This, however, seems to be an empty boast, for there is no real evidence that he ever advanced beyond Gujarāt. His armies returned from the boundaries of Rajputana, covered no doubt with glory, but without securing any permanent extension of territory in the domain of the Yādava kingdom. In the Gujarāt expedition, Bhillama received substantial assistance from his general Jahla, who managed to obtain a cheap victory over the Gurjara forces by skilfully introducing a maddened elephant in their midst, a manoeuvre which led to the hasty dispersal and flight of the enemy.

Bhillama's expedition to Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Rajputana clearly did not result in any material addition to his dominions. It, however, increased his self-confidence and made him feel that he might well launch an equally successful attack against his southern neighbours and thus secure the imperial position for his house. While he was engaged in the north, rapid changes had taken place in the Karnatak. The Kalachuri power, which had been previously weakened by the attacks of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa, was finally overthrown by the Chālukya ruler Someśvara IV in A.D. 1183. Someśvara, however, does not appear to have been himself a military leader; the victory was almost entirely due to the genius and energy of his commander-in-chief, Brahma. A number of contemporary records describe this general as the upholder of Chālukya glory and as a fire of destruction to the Kalachuri family. He was a skilful leader of the elephant phalanx and had managed to capture sixty of the enemy's elephants in the decisive engagement which sealed the fate of the Kalachūris.²

Someśvara, however, was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his general's

¹ *Sūktimuktāvalī*, Introduction, v. 11.

गूर्जरमुमुत्कटके कटकविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे येन ।

मगदन्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजः स्वेच्छया नीतः ॥

G.O.S. edition reads धूर्जर for गूर्जर; it is obviously a wrong reading.

² *Et*, vi, 96.

victory for very long. The Hoysala ruler Ballāla decided to make a bid for the imperial position and Bhillama also felt that he had an equally good chance of success in this direction. The attenuated and weakened Chālukya empire was thus invaded almost simultaneously from the north by Bhillama and from the south by Ballāla. Someśvara decided to deal with the southern invader first and dispatched his general Brahma against Ballāla. This time, however, Brahma was unable to win a victory for his master. His strong elephant phalanx was outmanœuvred by the more quickly moving cavalry divisions of Ballāla and the Chālukya power was completely shattered. Someśvara made no attempt to defend his capital at Kalyāṇī. We find him swiftly retreating and setting up his new seat of government at Jayantipura or Banavāsī, whence he continued to maintain a precarious existence down to 1189 with the help of his Kadamba feudatory Kāmadeva.¹

It is very probable—though there is no definite evidence on the point—that Ballāla pressed his successful advance still farther and actually captured Kalyāṇī, the imperial capital. It is extremely unlikely that he would have allowed it to remain in the hands of a Chālukya army when its chief had deserted his capital and fled to Banavāsī.

Such was the general political situation when Bhillama decided to throw out a challenge to Ballāla, and to make a bid for the imperial position in the Deccan. The Hoysala army was no doubt flushed with its recent sensational victories, but it seems to have been at the same time considerably weakened by them. For Bhillama was able to secure a resounding victory over it and to plant his imperial Eagle-flag on the ramparts of Kalyāṇī, which had been the capital of the Deccan for about two centuries. Ballāla had to beat a hasty retreat to his own capital of Dvārāsamudra, and the whole of the southern Chālukya empire, which he had conquered from Brahma and Someśvara, fell into the hands of Bhillama,² who promptly occupied the whole territory and pursued the retreating Hoysala forces at least as far as the Hassan District in Mysore State. Periya Sahana, the commander-in-chief of his cavalry, seems to have taken a leading part in this brilliant campaign. The new territories were in any case put under his charge.³ Certain records of Bhillama seem to indicate that he started a new reckoning of his regnal years in 1187;⁴ it is probable that this was the year of his epoch-making capture of Kalyāṇī.

Ballāla had been long planning to secure the paramount position in the Deccan for his family and he was not prepared to give up the struggle even after the loss of Kalyāṇī. He spent a couple of years in reorganizing his forces

¹ *EC*, xi, Cd. no. 93.

² The statement of Hemādri that the Hoysala king was killed at or after the fall of Kalyāṇī must be incorrect, if it is intended to refer to the reigning Hoysala ruler Ballāla. Probably some collateral prince of the Hoysala family may have fallen while defending this city.

³ *EI*, xv, 59.

⁴ *SIER*, 1930, App. E, no. 18.

and then began his march northwards with a view to reoccupying the southern provinces of the defunct Chālukya empire. By June, A.D. 1189, he had managed to establish his supremacy over Banavāsī and Nōḷambavāḍi,¹ and thence proceeded to invade the Bijapur and Dhārwar Districts, probably as a prelude to the ultimate capture of Kalyāṇī.

Bhillama was not slow to realize the danger threatening him from this new move by Ballāḷa. He marshalled a strong force consisting of 200,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, and moved out to meet the invader. In June, A.D. 1191, we find him already encamped at Gadag in the Dharwar District in the course of his southward march. Soon after this date the two rival claimants for the sovereignty of the Deccan met each other at Soratur in the neighbourhood of Dharwar where a sanguinary battle was fought. This time Ballāḷa was completely successful and the Yādava army was defeated with great slaughter. 'In order further to sow the seeds for the growth of his glory', says a contemporary Hoysaḷa record,² 'this emperor of the south prepared the ground by his conquest and from Soratur as far as Belvola, made it fit for being turned up by the ploughshares of the cultivators, having manured it with the bodies of the myriad brave warriors of the Sevaṇa army.'

There may be some exaggeration in the language used in this record, but there can be no doubt that the Hoysaḷa victory was a decisive one. Jaitrapāla, the Yādava general, tried to stem the tide of victory by taking shelter in the stronghold of Lokkiguṇḍi (modern Lokkundi), but Ballāḷa captured the fort without much difficulty. The Yādava general was killed while defending this place, and after its loss the Yādava retreat degenerated into a complete rout. Ballāḷa captured a number of important forts such as Erambara (Yellurga in the Hyderabad State), Kurrugod (near Bellary), Gutti (about 30 miles east of Bellary), and Hangal. The Yādavas were all driven across the Kṛishṇā and the Malaprabhā and the territories to their north completely cleared of them, these rivers continuing for twenty years thereafter to be the boundary between the two contending powers.

A Hoysaḷa record dated A.D. 1198 tells us how Ballāḷa moistened his sword with the blood of the Pāṇḍya king, whetted it on the grindstone of the head of Bhillama and sheathed it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi.³ It is known that the battle of Soratur was fought sometime toward the end of A.D. 1191, which is also known to have been the period of the accession of Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi.⁴ It is also known that Kāmadeva, the Pāṇḍya king of Uchchangi, and Jaitugi, the general of Bhillama, both died while fighting against the Hoysaḷas.

May we then accept the claim of Ballāḷa that he killed in battle not only

¹ *EC*, v, Ak. no. 57.

² Annegiri plates, dated A.D. 1192; *EC*, v, Cn. no. 179.

³ *EC*, vi, Belur no. 77.

⁴ Bijapur inscription shows that December 1196 fell in the sixth regnal year of Jaitugi; *BC*, i, ii, 321.

Jaitugi and Kāmadeva but also his chief foe Bhillama V? Probably not, for this claim seems to be an exaggerated one. The Gadag inscriptions of Ballāja, issued within a year of his sensational victories and engraved at a town which had witnessed his victorious marches and battles, state that the Hoysaḷa ruler killed in action only Jaitrasimha, who is also expressly described therein as the right hand of Bhillama. This document was composed by Agniśarman under the express direction of King Ballāja and it is very unlikely that it would have omitted to mention the death of Bhillama on the battlefield, had it in fact taken place. It appears that Bhillama, who was already an ageing man, was much shaken by this defeat, which finally shattered all the dreams of his life, and died broken-hearted soon afterwards. Poets of the later Hoysaḷa records, therefore, felt themselves justified in describing their master as having used the head of Bhillama as a whetting stone for his sword.¹

Before concluding our account of the career of Bhillama, we have to refer to the story of the marriage of Prithvirāja Chāhamāna with Śaśivratā, a daughter of Bhānu, a Yādava king of Devagiri, as narrated by Chandbardai in his *Prithvirāja Rāsao*.² With his usual poetic embellishments and exaggerated descriptions, the bard tells us how Śaśivratā and Prithvirāja fell in love on hearing of each other in the songs of a wandering bard who visited each court in turn; how their love for a time appeared destined to be frustrated since Śaśivratā's marriage had been otherwise arranged by her father with Virachandra, a nephew of Jayachandra, the king of Kanauj; and how Prithvirāja galloped off to Devagiri in the nick of time and managed to carry away the willing princess, leaving his army behind him to defeat the Yādava and Gāhaḍavāla forces. Prithvirāja and Jayachandra may in some sense be regarded as rival kings of Pañchāla, and Yādava inscriptions claim, as we have shown above, that Bhillama had defeated the king of that country. It is, however, very difficult to say whether any historic facts are reflected in the bardic story narrated by Chandbardai. The name of the Yādava king Bhānu in his account is somewhat similar to that of Bhillama and there is nothing inherently improbable in the idea that a Yādava king should have planned his daughter's marriage with a prince of the Kanauj family. But unless some reliable historical evidence should become available to show that

¹ Messrs. Venkatasubbayyah and Srikanthya have given a different version of the events of the Yādava-Hoysaḷa struggle. They argue that the battle of Soratur took place just before December 1190, that Bhillama reorganized his forces and reinvaded the Hoysaḷa kingdom about June 1191, recapturing then most of the forts previously wrested from his hands, that he was defeated a second time and killed sometime between June and December of 1191, and that Ballāja recaptured the forts in the course of the next two or three years (*IHQ*, iv, 120; *NIA*, i, 414). It seems most unlikely that if Bhillama had been so signally defeated in the battle of Soratur, as he is said to have been in the Hoysaḷa records, he could so soon have reorganized his forces and succeeded in the course of only six months in driving Ballāja from most of the forts which had been taken from him just before.

² *Samgraha*, 25.

the Gāhaḍavāla and Chāhamāna armies did really move into the Deccan to fight a battle there with each other, one cannot accept the story as historical. It may be a bardic invention with the object of showing that the feud between Prithvīrāja and Jayachandra was one of long standing and did not originate merely with the marriage of Saṁhyogitā. The account of the marriage of Śaṣivratā is merely a revised edition of the story of the *svayamvara* of Saṁhyogitā; it also contains a serious anachronism when it represents Devagiri as the Yādava capital in about 1180. Bhillama is not known to have had a son named Narendra as the *Rāsao* asserts (25, 174). As matters stand today, it appears to have hardly any actual historical foundation.

Whether Bhillama was killed on the battlefield or not, there can be no doubt that his career had a very tragic end. A series of victories which he had won, first against the Paramāras and Gujarāt Chaulukyas and then against the Karnatak Chālukyas and the Hoysalas, had naturally led him to think that he would remain the undisputed overlord of the Deccan, but all his plans were upset on the fateful battlefield of Soratur. The territory between the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadra, which was destined to be the bone of contention for centuries between the Deccani and Mysorean powers, slipped away from his hands and was annexed by the Hoysala king Ballāla II, who captured and occupied all the important forts and cities in it. Bhillama was more than sixty at this time and he must have died broken-hearted, just as the Peshwa Nānasāhib did after the battle of Pānipat.

The tragic end of Bhillama should not, however, blind us to his greatness as a warrior and statesman. He was a self-made man; he had inherited hardly any patrimony. He had to carve out a principality for himself in the northern Konkan and southern Mahārāshṭra. His intervention in the affairs of the Yādava clan of Sinner was no doubt a usurpation from one point of view, but there can be no doubt that the Yādava family would never have become the overlords of the Deccan had third-rate rulers like Amaragāṅgeya and Kāliyaballāla continued to be at the helm of its affairs for very much longer. Bhillama not only consolidated his power in Mahārāshṭra, but also carried out successful raids into Mālwa and Gujarāt, which brought glory to his arms and riches into his treasury. He intervened in Karnatak politics at the right moment and managed to oust both the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas. His armies at one time overran and occupied the whole of the Raichur Doab. He had well and truly laid the foundation of the Yādava empire. For we should not forget that even after the decisive victory at Soratur his opponent Ballāla did not dare to cross the Kṛishṇā and march into Mahārāshṭra. The Yādava armies, though defeated, were not annihilated, and the enemy dared not beard the lion in his own den. To conclude, like most founders of empires, Bhillama was a soldier, a statesman, and a man of tact and vision.

Jaitugi

(A.D. 1191 to 1210(?))

Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi towards the end of A.D. 1191. It was once believed that this prince met his end during the Karnatak campaign of his father, but that view is no longer tenable. The Jaitugi or Jaitrasimha, killed in the Hoysala war, is obviously the person of that name mentioned as Bhillama's feudatory general and minister in a Gadag record.¹ Had Jaitugi, the crown prince, fallen in the war, Hoysala records would not have failed to mention his relationship with the Yādava king; they would certainly not have remained content merely to record his name. In fact, Hemādri definitely mentions him as having ruled, and contemporary records have also been found which refer to his reign and thus support the historian.²

The affairs of the Yādava kingdom were in a critical state at the time of the accession of Jaitugi.³ It appeared as if the Hoysala armies, flushed with their recent victories, would cross the Kṛishṇā and overrun the whole Yādava kingdom. Jaitugi was undoubtedly a soldier of great courage and resolution, for he was not at all unnerved by the recent disasters. He reorganized his forces and presented such a strong front that Ballāla had to give up the idea of pressing his victories further and crowning them with the capture of Kalyāṇi and Devagiri. The two sides tacitly accepted the Malaprabhā-Kṛishṇā line as the boundary of their kingdoms and neither made any attempt to cross it for nearly two decades.

Jaitugi, however, was anxious to rehabilitate the military reputation of his army by obtaining victories elsewhere, and decided to launch an offensive against the rising power of the Kākatīyas in Telangana. The Yādavas felt that since they were the successors of the Chālukyas, all the former feudatories of the latter should at once automatically recognize their overlordship. The Kākatīyas not only did not do so, but exploited the critical situation which had arisen following the disastrous Karnatak campaign by launching an attack on the Yādavas from their rear. It would appear that on at least one occasion the Kākatīya armies penetrated as far as the Yādava capital under the generalship of Mahādeva, the brother of the reigning king.⁴ Jaitugi had to bide his time for a while. When affairs on the Kṛishṇā front became more settled about A.D. 1194, and it was evident that there would be no immediate

¹ *El*, iii, 219.² Fleet, *BG*, i, ii, 321.³ A Hoysala record dated 1194 (*EC*, v, Arsikere no. 5) no doubt mentions Ballāla's capture of the fort of Lokkundi from Jaitugi. But it does not refer to this as a recent event; the capture of the fort there mentioned was in all probability really that which took place while it was held by the minister Jaitrapāla, who actually died while defending his command during the preceding reign.⁴ The Garavapada inscription, *El*, xviii, 351. This incident could not have happened during the short reign of Mahādeva himself, for at that time the Yādavas were in effective occupation of the greater portion of the Kākatīya kingdom. It could have happened only during the reign of Rudra, when the Yādavas were engaged in a deadly struggle with the Hoysalas.

danger of a Hoysala invasion, he launched a sudden hurricane attack against the Kākatiyas. The reigning Kākatiya monarch Rudra was killed in the course of the campaign;¹ Hemādri grows eloquent in describing how Jaitugi performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the king of Telangana.

The death of the king on the battlefield broke down all the Kākatiya resistance; for a Kākatiya record itself describes how chaos followed that event and how a number of chieftains 'sought to claim the hand of the Kākatiya Royal Glory, who for a time found herself in a thorny jungle'.²

The death of Rudra took place soon after A.D. 1195. The Kākatiya history during the next few years is obscured by a veil of considerable confusion and uncertainty. It appears that either in the fateful battle in which Rudra was killed, or soon thereafter, Jaitugi succeeded in taking prisoner Gaṇapati, who was a nephew of the dead Kākatiya monarch. This prince remained in captivity at Devagiri, but resistance to the Yādava invaders continued to be offered by his father Mahādeva, who had succeeded his brother Rudra in about 1196. Mahādeva was ably assisted by Racherla, one of Rudra's generals.

Mahādeva's efforts to drive out the invader proved as unsuccessful as those of his brother, and he too died on the battlefield in conflict with the Yādava invaders. A Kākatiya record clearly admits this fact when it describes in flowery terms how this ruler fell asleep in the battlefield on the temple of his royal elephant and awoke in heaven to find his head resting on the bosom of his heavenly spouse.

The death of Mahādeva intensified the chaos in the Kākatiya kingdom. Darkness and confusion prevailed all around, life and property became unsafe, and Brāhmins could no longer discharge their religious functions. It seems that for a time Jaitugi sought to annex the whole kingdom and administer it from Devagiri. He did not succeed in this effort and he therefore eventually decided to follow the traditional policy of Hindu princes which recommends that a conqueror should reinstate a relative of the last ruler upon the throne of the conquered country. Gaṇapati, the son of Mahādeva, was already a captive in his hands³ and he decided to place him on the

¹ In Hemādri's *prastāvi*, the Kākatiya king killed in war is described as Raudra, which would suggest that not Rudra himself, but a son of his, was killed on the battlefield. If Rudra had died a natural death instead of being killed in the war, there would not have supervened that chaos in the Kākatiya kingdom which has been so graphically described by the Pālampet inscription (*Hyderabad Arch. Series*, Monograph 3). And in fact Rudra is not known to have had a son; he was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva. We have, therefore, to conclude that in Hemādri's *prastāvi*, *raudra* is a clerical mistake for *rudra*, due to a scribe anxious to differentiate between the two consecutive words in the expression *rudraya rudrākṛiteḥ*. Dāsgupta's suggestion that Raudra may refer to the successor of Rudra—his brother Mahādeva (*IC*, iv, 475)—seems very improbable. A brother is never denoted by this *tadhiṭa* word-formation.

² Pālampet Inscription, *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, Monograph 3.

³ *Ibid.*

Kākatīya throne, naturally after securing a promise from him that he would rule as a loyal feudatory.

At what exact date Gaṇapati was released from imprisonment in Yādava capital and reinstated in his kingdom we do not know.¹ There was unquestionably an intervening period of anarchy as suggested by the Pālampet inscription. We need not, however, now suppose that the period was a long one or that Gaṇapati continued to live as a captive in Devagiri until about 1210;² for an inscription of his has been recently discovered which shows that he was ruling as a king in 1203.³ His later inscriptions prove that A.D. 1198 was his first regnal year and we may therefore conclude that he was really released in that year soon after the death of his father. Gaṇapati for a long time continued to be a loyal feudatory of his overlord.

Very few other political events in the reign of Jaitugi are known. He is credited with the defeat of the kings of the Pāṇḍyas, the Choḷas, the Mālavas, the Lāṭas, the Gurjaras, the Turushakas, and the rulers of Nepāla and Pāñchāla in one record.⁴ But there is no doubt that most of this claim is a mere empty boast. The Yādava armies certainly did not again cross the Kṛishṇā after their disastrous defeat in the earlier reign, and thus the alleged victory over the Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas must be purely imaginary. The claim to the overthrow of the kings of Nepāla, Pāñchāla, and the Turushakas seems to be equally unfounded. The statement, however, that he defeated the kings of Lāṭa (southern Gujarāt) and Mālwa may perhaps refer to some frontier skirmishes with the forces of these states which lay to the north of the Yādava kingdom. It does not seem probable that the Yādava armies ever penetrated deeply into any of these principalities during the reign of Jaitugi. His hands were in any case too full of the Hoysala and Kākatīya affairs. Exploiting the situation created by the discomfiture of the Chaulukya king Bhīma at the hands of Aibak, Subhatavarman, the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa, attacked King Siṃha of southern Gujarāt, who was a Chaulukya feudatory. It is likely that, taking advantage of the preoccupation of Subhatavarman with this affair, Sahadeva, a general of Jaitugi in charge of the northern frontier, may have carried out a raid into Mālwa. This seems to be the only historic fact underlying the claim to the defeat of Mālava, Lāṭa, and Gurjara kings put forward on behalf of Jaitugi in the Mangoli inscription.

Sankama was the chief minister (*mahāpradhana*) and general of Jaitugi.⁵

¹ The view of R. G. Bhandarkar that Gaṇapati was kept in prison by his uncle Rudra (*EHD*, p. 186) and the conjecture of N. N. Dasgupta that he was imprisoned by his father for misconduct (*IC*, iii, 474) are both untenable. The issue is clinched by the expression *yudhi dhṛitam* which shows conclusively that Gaṇapati was taken prisoner in war.

² This is the view of Dr. Ram Rao, who thought that Gaṇapati might have dated his regnal years not from the time of his actual accession but from the time of the death of his father. (*JAHRS*, vi, 34.) His main argument in support of this suggestion was that there are no inscriptions of Gaṇapati prior to A.D. 1209.

³ *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telugu Districts*, p. 40.

⁴ Mangoli Inscription, *El*, v, 33.

⁵ *BG*, i, ii, 521.

He was given the fief of the Tardavadi one thousand. Probably he had been largely responsible for the success of the Kākatiya campaign. There were a number of feudatories in the kingdom, not all of whom had yet transferred their allegiance to the new imperial power. In Khandesh, however, the Nikumbha brothers Soideva and Hemādideva were ruling as loyal vassals of the Yādava king.

Jaitugi was not merely a soldier. He had a real love for scholarship and patronized men of learning. Lakshmidhara, a son of Bhāskarāchārya the famous astronomer, was selected by him as his chief court pandit. Like his father, Lakshmidhara also excelled as a scholar.

It is difficult to state when precisely the reign of Jaitugi came to an end. A.D. 1196 is so far his latest known date from inscriptions,¹ and a solitary record of his successor Simhana suggests that he began to rule as early as A.D. 1197.² But epigraphical evidence is very conflicting on this point.³ One set of records would show that A.D. 1200 was his first regnal year;⁴ a second set suggests that it may be A.D. 1207⁵ and a third set indicates that he ascended the throne only in A.D. 1210.⁶ There is no doubt that Jaitugi continued to rule after A.D. 1197; for otherwise he could not have been credited with the restoration of Ganapati, which did certainly not take place before A.D. 1198. It seems that from A.D. 1200 onwards Simhana was formally associated with his father in the administration as *yuvārāja*, and therefore some of his later records are seen counting his regnal years from that date. The balance of evidence seems to show that Jaitugi continued to rule throughout the first decade of the thirteenth century and was succeeded by his son only in 1210.⁷

Simhana

(c. 1210 (?) to 1247)

Simhana,⁸ who succeeded his father in about 1210, was undoubtedly the most important and powerful ruler among the Yādavas. He had acted as *yuvārāja* for about ten years, during which he had received valuable training in administration and the conduct of military campaigns. He had taken an

¹ BG, I, ii, 521.

² *ASR*, 1928-9, p. 172.

³ At one and the same village, Kandgall, two records suggest that A.D. 1200 was the first regnal year, but a third one shows that it could not have begun before 1210. *ASR*, 1928-9, p. 118.

⁴ Kandgall inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1220 and 1208 respectively, are stated to be in the twentieth and eighth regnal year respectively of King Simhana. *ASR*, 1928-9, p. 118. See also *SMHD*, ii, 58.

⁵ *ASR*, 1928-30, p. 175. The Kallaru stone inscription (*EC*, viii, Sb. no. 293) suggests 1208-9 as the initial year.

⁶ The Kadkal inscription (*IA*, xii, 100), the Kuppaturu inscription (*EC*, viii, Sb. no. 250), and the Elevata inscription (*ibid.*, Sb. no. 402) suggest a third date.

⁷ It is possible to argue that Simhana ascended the throne in A.D. 1200 and that a second coronation took place in 1210 to mark some important conquest, when a new regnal reckoning was initiated. This, however, does not seem to have been actually the case.

⁸ Simhana's birth was regarded as a favour granted by the goddess Nārasimhi of Parāgbeta; hence he was named after her. See the Tasgaon Plates v, 51; *SMHD*, iii, 12.

active part in the successful operations against the Kākatīyas, and had learnt valuable lessons in warfare from his experiences.¹ The defeat inflicted by Ballāḷa on his grandfather rankled in his mind and he was eager to avenge it. He was also anxious to curb the power of troublesome feudatories, who were always ready to exploit the difficulties of the imperial power. He was an able ruler and a skilful general and it was his ambition to make the Yādava empire as extensive as that of the Chālukyas. He was able to realize this ambition since he was favoured with a long life and had the skill to select competent officers and the wisdom to repose confidence in them.

His first object after his accession was to avenge the disaster of Soratur. Already as *yuvarāja* he had taken part in the southward expansion of the Yādava power. The Kṛishṇā-Malaprabhā boundary line between the Yādava and Hoysaḷa kingdoms was in fact disturbed as early as A.D. 1206; for an inscription dated in that year shows that part of Bijapur District had been already conquered by that time and put in charge of a Yādava general named Keśavadeva.² The war against the Hoysaḷas was continued with redoubled energy and grim determination after Siṃhaṇa's accession in A.D. 1210. A Gadag inscription shows that the greater part of the Dharwar District was already in his possession in 1213.³ His armies had, however, penetrated even a year earlier much farther to the south and had overrun the greater part of the Anantpur, Bellary, Chitaldurg, and Shimoga Districts, as is made quite clear by a number of Yādava records discovered in these districts.⁴ The campaign was conducted under the personal supervision and direction of Siṃhaṇa himself. The whole of Banvasi (the Shimoga District of Mysore) was annexed before A.D. 1215 and handed over to Sarvādhikarin Mayideva who was a great confidant of the emperor.⁵ In A.D. 1222 this commander was succeeded by Vanka Ravata, an officer hailing from Karad in the Satara District.⁶

The Anantpur and Bellary Districts of the Madras presidency and the Chitaldurg District of Mysore had also been brought under the Yādava sway and were being governed at this time either by officers directly appointed by the emperor or by feudatories who professed whole-hearted allegiance to the Yādava conqueror. It may be added here that all this territory continued to be governed by the Yādavas practically throughout the thirteenth century, for a large number of inscriptions of all the later Yādavas are found in it. It is clear that the succeeding Hoysaḷa rulers reconciled themselves to its loss and did not attempt its reconquest.

The Karnatak expedition came to a successful end by A.D. 1215 but

¹ A few late records credit him with the beheading of one Telanga king and the placing of another upon the empty throne (Munoli inscription, *JBBRAS*, xii, 42; Chikka Sakuna inscription, *MLSR*, 1929, p. 143). This tradition is, however, obviously a reflection of the fact that he, as *yuvarāja*, co-operated with his father in bringing about these events.

² *SIER*, 1927-8, App. E, no. 264.

³ *EC*, viii, Sb. 221, 224, 227, 309, 376; *SII*, ix, nos. 363-7.

⁴ *EC*, vii, S. no. 95; *HL*, nos. 44 and 48.

⁵ *IA*, ii, 297.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *HL*, no. 20.

Simhana could not give any long respite to his troops. We find him engaged in an arduous campaign against the Kolhapur Śilāhāra king, Bhoja II, in A.D. 1216 which kept his forces busy for a period of about two years. The cause of the war was the imperial ambition of the contending rulers. Vijayāditya, the father of Bhoja II, had played the role of king-maker and had helped Bijjala to oust Taila III and to secure the Kalyāṇī throne. Bhoja (A.D. 1175-1215) naturally decided to assume imperial titles when he found the Chālukyas, the Kalachūris, the Yādavas, and the Hoysalas engaged in an apparently interminable internecine conflict. In A.D. 1187 we discover him calling himself Vikrama of the Kali Age¹ and in A.D. 1203 we find Somadeva, a protégé of his, according him imperial titles like Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Rājādhirāja, and Paśchimachakravartī.² It is clear that the discomfiture of the Yādavas at the hands of the Hoysalas and their later commitments in Āndhradeśa made Bhoja feel that the time was opportune for him to assert his independence. He decided to measure his strength with the Yādavas and it seems that he attacked them in the rear when they were engaged in their Karnatak offensive during A.D. 1210-15. Following his victorious return, Simhana therefore decided to remove this thorn from his side, once for all, and invaded the Śilāhāra kingdom. Bhoja suffered a defeat and fled from his capital Kolhapur to the adjoining fort of Parnāla or Panhālā. Simhana has been described as 'an eagle who caused the serpent in the form of the mighty ruler Bhoja, hiding in the fort of Parnāla, to take to flight'.³ It would seem that the fort could not endure a prolonged siege and that Bhoja had to abandon this last stronghold and take refuge elsewhere.

The subsequent fate of Bhoja is not known. Nothing more is heard of him. He was at this time already an old man and seems to have died either in the battle or of a broken heart soon afterwards. He had a son named Gaṇḍarāditya, but there is no evidence whatsoever to show that this prince was allowed to rule as a feudatory. We begin from this date onwards to get Yādava inscriptions in Kolhapur itself, the Śilāhāra capital, the earliest of which, dated in A.D. 1218, refers to the erection of a gate before the temple of Ambabai by Tailaṇa, an officer of Simhana.⁴ It is therefore clear that Simhana thought Kolhapur to be an important strategic place which should be under his own direct administration and decided to annex the Śilāhāra kingdom. The annexation took place just before A.D. 1217, for a Yādava record, dated in that year though hailing from the distant Shimoga District, delights in describing Simhana as a *Vajra* (thunderbolt) to the Parnāla fort.⁵ Obviously the capture of the fort was an important recent feat and had to be duly proclaimed to the new Yādava subjects in the Karnatak.

The relations between the Yādavas on the one hand and the Paramāras and Chaulukyas on the other were never very cordial. We have seen already

¹ Graham, *Kolhapur*, p. 397.

² BG, I, ii, 254.

⁴ SMHD, iii, 19.

³ IA, x, 756.

⁵ EC, viii, Sb. no. 135.

that Bhīllama V had invaded the territories of both these powers in A.D. 1185. During the next thirty years the Chaulukya kingdom became steadily weaker, but the Yādavas were unable to take advantage of this owing to their reverses in the south and their subsequent efforts to retrieve their fortunes and improve their position on that frontier. The Paramāra king Subhaṭavarman, however, was still smarting from the memory of the wanton invasions of his province by the Chaulukyas during the preceding half century and advanced to invade Gujarāt soon after the overthrow of the Chaulukya forces by Qutb-ud-Dīn Aibak in A.D. 1194. The Chaulukya king Bhīma was unable to withstand this attack and had to submit to defeat. Later on, southern Gujarāt was also wrested from the Gurjara kingdom, and the Chāhamāna chief Siṃha, who was ruling there as a feudatory of the Chaulukyas, was obliged to transfer his allegiance to Subhaṭavarman. From Broach as his base Subhaṭavarman invaded Gujarāt and captured its capital. His success, however, was but short-lived, for very soon he was driven out by Lavaṇaprasāda, a minister of Bhīma. The Paramāras, however, continued to exercise overlordship over Siṃha, the king of Lāṭa, even during the reign of Arjunavarman (c. A.D. 1210-17), the successor of Subhaṭavarman.

Such was the situation in Mālwa and Gujarāt when, elated by his signal successes in the south, Siṃhaṇa decided to try his luck in the north. The new Paramāra ruler Arjunavarman had married a Hoysala princess,¹ named Sarvakalā, who was probably a daughter or granddaughter of the Hoysala king Ballāja. While Siṃhaṇa was inflicting a series of defeats upon the Hoysala king, we may well presume that his Paramāra son-in-law did not remain a passive spectator of the misfortunes of his wife's relations. He may have attacked or at least prepared to attack Siṃhaṇa from the north. Accordingly as soon as his hands became relatively free from his commitments in the Karnatak and Kolhapur, Siṃhaṇa launched a counter-offensive against Mālwa in A.D. 1215.

The expedition seems to have been fairly successful. Hemādri claims that Arjunavarman was not only defeated but also killed in the battle, and when we remember that this ruler's reign came to an abrupt close before A.D. 1216 or 1217, we may well accept the statement.² After the overthrow of the Paramāras, the position of King Siṃha of Lāṭa became very critical. He was no match for Siṃhaṇa. He therefore transferred his allegiance to his former suzerain and the Chaulukya king Bhīma was able to enlist the help of his able minister Lavaṇaprasāda. The drama *Hamīramadamardana* which refers to this alliance is, however, curiously enough, silent as to the events that followed it.³ The *Kīrtikāumudī*, however, states that Lavaṇaprasāda com-

¹ *El*, viii p. 103, v. ii.

² It may, however, be pointed out that some doubt arises about the truth of Hemādri's claim from the circumstance that the Bahāl inscription, dated A.D. 1222, refers only to the defeat and not to the death of Arjunavarman.

³ Act I, v. 13.

pelled Simhana to retire.¹ But it is difficult to be sure whether this retirement refers to the expedition of A.D. 1215 or to a later invasion. It would seem that Simhana was satisfied with his victory in Mālwa and did not think it worth while to risk an attack on Lāṭa as a part of the same campaign, after he had learned that its king had made an alliance with the Gurjara ruler. In any case his army returned to the capital in about A.D. 1218, for we find his victories in Mālwa and Gujarāt being made known in a proclamation to his new Karnatak subjects as early as September 1218.² The kings of Lāṭa and Gujarāt could describe the return of Simhana with some justification as a victory for their own forces.³ Though foiled in his plan of the conquest of Lāṭa, Simhana must have been pleased with the total outcome of his expedition, for it had completely broken the power of the Paramāras, a feat which was a necessary prelude to the conquest of Gujarāt.

With his armies once more free from commitments in Karnatak and Kolhapur, Simhana launched a large and well-equipped expedition against Lāṭa in A.D. 1220. Kholeśvara, a Brāhman general of Simhana, who had already distinguished himself on several battlefields, was selected to lead the Yādava army. The choice was a happy one, for the fief of the general lay in Khandesh and Berar, and so he was quite familiar with the terrain of the country in which his forces were to operate. Lāṭa, or southern Gujarāt, was still being ruled by the Chāhamāna ruler Simha. His was a small kingdom and he had formerly been able to withstand the Yādavas simply because he could at that time be sure of the backing either of the Paramāras or of the Chaulukyas. But the Paramāra power had now been broken and the Chaulukya throne had been usurped by an upstart named Jayantasimha. Both Bhīma and his minister Lavanaprasāda were more concerned in ousting this usurper than in helping Simha, who had never been really steadfast in his loyalty to them. Kholeśvara therefore secured an easy victory; in the battle that ensued King Simha was killed and so also was his brother Sindhurāja. The latter's son Saṅgrāmasimha, or Śankha, was taken prisoner and the Yādava flag was planted on the ramparts of Broach.⁴ The Ambe inscription of Kholeśvara,

दक्षिणः क्षोणिपालोपि धनसैन्योत्थविक्रमः ।

येन तद्विपरीतैर्न परित्यजति विग्रहम् ।

¹ EC, vii, Sk. no. 91.

² *Vasantavilāsa*, v, 30.

³ The date A.D. 1222, which has been given in the text above as that of the expedition in which Simha and Sindhurāja were killed and Śankha taken prisoner, is a conjectural though a very probable one. The Ambe inscription of 1228 mentions the death in battle of King Simha. The *Hammīramadomardana*, composed sometime between A.D. 1220 and 1230, refers not only to the death of Simha's brother Sindhurāja at the hands of the Yādavas, but also discloses that Saṅgrāmasimha had already at this time been released from the Yādava prison and had twice tried to organize an expedition against Gujarāt with the help of Simhana. Probably Saṅgrāmasimha's demand for the restoration of Cambay (referred to in the *Vasantavilāsa*, canto V) was also made before A.D. 1230. Saṅgrāmasimha therefore must have been occupying the throne of Broach for some years before A.D. 1230. The defeat and death of his father and uncle and his own imprisonment may therefore have taken place in c. A.D. 1222.

dated A.D. 1228, describes how the victorious general raised his column of victory on the shore at Broach. Siṃhaṇa, however, decided not to annex Lāṭa; after a while he released Saṅgrāmasiṃha from captivity and allowed him to rule at Broach as his own feudatory. This second expedition of Siṃhaṇa may be presumed to have ended about A.D. 1223.

At about this time both the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras had become very much weakened and Saṅgrāmasiṃha therefore decided to improve his position with the help of Siṃhaṇa by remaining consistently loyal to him. While his father and uncle were engaged in the war with the Yādavas, Lavaṇaprasāda, the *de facto* Chaulukya ruler, had seized the important port of Cambay belonging to the kingdom of Lāṭa and annexed it to Gujarāt. Vāstupāla was appointed its governor in A.D. 1219 and the city had begun to prosper under his able administration. Very soon, however, Gujarāt was threatened from the north by the king of Marwar, and the Muslims also began to make ominous movements of their armies with a view to attack Anahilapaṭṭaṇa. Saṅgrāmasiṃha decided to exploit this situation for his own advantage and sent an ultimatum to Vāstupāla to surrender Broach to him. On Vāstupāla's refusal to do so, he attacked the city, but failed miserably in his venture. He had to retire discomfited and disgraced.¹ The precise date of this event is difficult to determine, but it may perhaps be placed in about A.D. 1225.

What Saṅgrāmasiṃha could not achieve by his own unaided efforts, he tried to realize by a coalition. He induced his overlord Siṃhaṇa to form common cause with Devapāla, the new king of Mālwa, and to launch a joint attack upon the tottering kingdom of Gujarāt. He himself assumed the command of one of the invading armies. The main Yādava force was under the command of Kholeśvara, who had already distinguished himself in the earlier campaign in Gujarāt.

The advance of the allied invading force aroused a storm of frantic terror in Gujarāt, which has been graphically described in the *Kirtikaumudī*, canto V. The capital was thrown into great confusion; people ceased building houses and collecting corn from the fields. The townspeople fought with each other to secure vehicles of any kind with which to flee into the country before the enemy's troops. In times of distress, says the poet, *Chakrabhṛit* (i.e. God Viṣṇu, the wielder of *chakra*, or in its other meaning 'a cart which possesses wheels') alone is the ultimate recourse for men. People had good reason for their consternation, for the invading army was already burning the villages on its route and the flames lit up the skies at night.

The divergent accounts of the situation given by the different authors, in whom poetic feeling was more evident than a sense of history, make it difficult for us to reconstruct the actual course of this invasion with any

¹ *Vasantavilāsa*, canto V; *Kirtikaumudī*, canto V. It does not seem probable that Saṅgrāmasiṃha was helped in this expedition by his feudal lord Siṃhaṇa.

certainly. To make the confusion greater still, none of our authors gives any date for the events described by him. It, however, seems very probable that the consternation described in the *Kīrtikaumudī* took place at the time of the coalition referred to in the *Hamīraṇṇadāmardana* on pp. 3 and 17. If such is in fact the case, it appears that Lavaṇaprasāda eventually retrieved the situation by a clever ruse. One of his spies secured service in the camp of Devapāla, the king of Mālwa, and managed to steal his best horse branded with the master's name. This was eventually given to Saṅgrāmasiṃha by another spy as a present from Devapāla. In the course of time it was contrived that a forged letter should fall into the hands of Siṃhaṇa, purporting to be a secret communication from Devapāla to Saṅgrāmasiṃha. The letter referred to the present of the horse, assured Saṅgrāmasiṃha that Devapāla would attack Siṃhaṇa in the rear as soon as he entered Gujarāt, and exhorted Saṅgrāmasiṃha to take that opportunity of striking off the head of Siṃhaṇa in order to avenge his father's death which had been brought about by the Deccan king. The letter produced the desired effect and Siṃhaṇa was convinced that his so-called allies were only conspiring to bring about his downfall. Lavaṇaprasāda was threatened from the north by a powerful coalition and he made overtures for peace to Siṃhaṇa which were welcomed by him. The statement in the *Kīrtikaumudī* (iv, 63) that Siṃhaṇa did not dare to penetrate farther into Gujarāt although Lavaṇaprasāda had withdrawn his forces in order to attack his northern enemies, 'because deer are afraid to traverse the path once traversed by a lion', need not be taken very seriously. If the Yādava invasion had really created the consternation described earlier in the poem, it is improbable that Siṃhaṇa would have withdrawn suddenly even after he had become suspicious of his allies. The withdrawal must have followed on an agreed suspension of hostilities, and this inference is confirmed by the existence of a treaty of alliance between Lavaṇaprasāda and Siṃhaṇa, which has been recorded for us as a specimen of such treaties by the author of the *Lekhāpadhati* (p. 52). This specimen treaty cannot indeed for obvious reasons be regarded as an exact copy of any historical document, but there is no doubt that the author of the work must have heard of a more or less similar treaty made a short time before 1232 between Lavaṇaprasāda and Siṃhaṇa. We may therefore well presume that the war between Siṃhaṇa and Lavaṇaprasāda came to an end in about A.D. 1231 by a treaty of mutual non-aggression and assistance as suggested by the draft in the *Lekhāpadhati*. It need not be supposed that Siṃhaṇa reaped no advantage from this venture. He must have got considerable booty, and in addition his protectorate over southern Gujarāt was confirmed and further secured.

For the next few years the armies of the Yādavas were engaged nearer home. In the Belgaum District of the Bombay State a small Raṭṭa principality had maintained itself for several centuries, its rulers being accustomed to profess allegiance to any imperial power which was for the

time being able to assert its supremacy in the Deccan. Lakshmīdeva II was the last ruler of this family and A.D. 1228 is his latest known year. Very soon after this date, this Ratta ruler lost favour with Śīrṇhaṇa and fell under suspicion for reasons as yet unknown to us. The Yādava emperor ordered his southern viceroy and trusted general, Bīchaṇa, to march against the Ratta principality. That tiny kingdom was no match for the invading power and succumbed to the onslaught after only faint resistance some time between 1228 and 1238. Śīrṇhaṇa decided to annex the principality and entrusted its administration to Bīchaṇa, its conqueror, who was subsequently raised to the status of a feudatory ruler.

General Bīchaṇa proved himself extremely useful to Śīrṇhaṇa through his success in maintaining peace and order in the southern provinces of the empire. There were a number of petty rulers there such as the Guttas of Dharwar and the Kadambas of Hangal and Goa, who were semi-independent feudatories, now professing allegiance to the Hoysaḷas, now to the Yādavas, but always aiming at gaining independence for themselves at the earliest favourable opportunity. Bīchaṇa made all of them feel the weight of the imperial power by inflicting summary punishment on each of them at the slightest sign of insubordination. We need not, however, linger further over the uninteresting details of the sporadic conflicts which arose at this time between the Yādavas and the rulers of these petty states.¹

We may conveniently refer here to Śīrṇhaṇa's relations with the Kākatiyas. We have shown above how Jaitugi, the father of Śīrṇhaṇa, had completely shattered the Kākatiya power. He had planned to annex the kingdom, but when he realized the impossibility of the task, he released the Kākatiya prince Gaṇapati from prison and permitted him to rule as his feudatory. Gaṇapati enjoyed a long reign of more than sixty years during the earlier half of which he continued to be loyal to his overlord. It seems that he participated in the northern campaigns of Śīrṇhaṇa, for one of his inscriptions, dated A.D. 1228, states that he had defeated the Lāṭas.² This claim can be explained only on the assumption that he had accompanied the Yādava forces in one of their Gujarāt expeditions. In the inscription above referred to Gaṇapati is seen to be content to assume the titles of an ordinary feudatory chief, but later in his reign he succeeded in effecting a considerable southward expansion of his kingdom and began to feel strong enough to assume an independent status. This led to occasional clashes between the two neighbouring states.³ But it seems that neither side was anxious to press matters to an armed conflict. Śīrṇhaṇa was getting old and was less and less eager to embark on any new venture, the more so as he was continuously busy with his Gujarāt expedi-

¹ The ruler of Gutti rebelled in A.D. 1237, and raided the Yādava territory; Śīrṇhaṇa sent a strong force of 30,000 horse, which captured the capital fort of Gutti in A.D. 1239. *EC*, viii, Sh. 250 and 319.

² *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, p. 52.

³ *IA*, xxi, 200.

tions. Gaṇapati too had not forgotten his imprisonment at Devagiri. Accordingly no further major clashes occurred between the Kākatīyas and the Yādavas during the reign of Sīmhana.

In about A.D. 1239 Sīmhana made one more effort, probably his fourth, to conquer Gujarāt. During the interval of about eight years that had elapsed since his last invasion of that country, considerable changes had taken place in the north. Kholeśvara, his trusted general, had died, and had been succeeded by his son Rāma. Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Viradhavala had also died, and the latter's son Viśaladeva had become the *de facto* governor of Gujarāt. Rāma, the youthful and energetic son of Kholeśvara, was anxious to emulate the example of his father and felt that he could easily overthrow Viśaladeva, who had just ascended the throne. He therefore advised Sīmhana to undertake a new expedition. This advice was acted upon and Rāma himself was put in charge of the fresh venture.

The ruler of Lāṭa was a loyal Yādava feudatory and so Rāma was able to proceed unopposed as far as the Narmadā. But there he encountered Viśaladeva with his forces in full array and prepared to contest the crossing of that river. A sanguinary battle ensued at the fords, and according to the Yādava version, Rāma showed superhuman bravery there and his followers worked havoc in the ranks of the enemy. It is, however, admitted that he lost his life in this conflict and no victory has been actually claimed for his troops.¹ On the other hand a Gujarāt record describes Viśaladeva as a submarine fire beneath the ocean of Sīmhana's army.² We may therefore well presume that at most the battle was a drawn one. The Yādava forces must have given up all idea of further advance after their general had been killed in battle, and we know that Sīmhana eventually withdrew his forces from the Narmadā.

The long-drawn struggle between the Yādavas on one side and the Gurjaras on the other, which lasted for more than twenty years, cannot but be regarded as tragic. It benefited neither party and weakened them both. It is indeed a pity that Sīmhana could not have taken a more far-sighted and statesmanlike view of the political situation as it was developing at that time in Northern and Central India. The Muslims had recently overthrown the Gāhāḍavālas, had occupied more than half of Mālhwā, and were hammering at the gates of Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa. Instead of making common cause with the Gurjaras and the Paramāras, who were engaged in a gallant and desperate effort to withstand the new invader, Sīmhana was continually trying to stab them in the back. The dynastic rivalry between the contending parties in the Deccan had made them oblivious of the common danger. The greatest blame in this matter undoubtedly attaches to Sīmhana, since he was by far the most powerful and experienced of all his contemporary rulers and should have pointed out to them the wisdom of organizing a common front in the Deccan against the new danger that threatened it from the north. His house had to

¹ Ambe Inscription, *ASIT*, iii, 85 ff.

² *El*, i, 45; *IA*, vi, 212.

pay dearly for this lack of vision within less than half a century after his death.

Hemādri claims that Sirīhapa had captured one of King Jājalla's elephant corps, and had deprived King Kakkula of his sovereignty. A Patan inscription,¹ dated A.D. 1206, records that the kings of Mathurā and Banaras had realized the menace of the Yādava power and felt its heavy hand, and that one of Sirīhapa's lesser generals had defeated a Muslim ruler. In the absence of substantial corroborative evidence most of these claims will have to be pronounced as unfounded. King Jājalla must obviously have been a ruler of Chhattisgaḍh, but there was no prince of that name ruling in that province contemporaneously with Sirīhapa. Jājalla II, the last known ruler of that name, had died in A.D. 1170. Kakkula would *prima facie* appear to have been a king of Tripuri, but the last king of that name had flourished about 200 years before the accession of Sirīhapa.² It is also doubtful whether any Hindu rulers were ruling at Mathurā and Kāśī during the rule of Sirīhapa. The Ambe inscription states that the name of the King of Kāśī defeated by Sirīhapa was Rāmapāla; but historic research has so far disclosed no ruler of this name ruling at Banaras in the first half of the thirteenth century.³ It is not improbable that the name of Rāmapāla may have been associated with Banaras because the poet historians of Sirīhapa had a vague idea that once upon a time Banaras had been under the rule of Rāmapāla, just as Chhattisgaḍh and Jabalpur had been under the sway respectively of a Jājalla and a Kokkala. The specific name of the Muslim ruler said to have been defeated by some obscure general of Sirīhapa is not given and the record possibly refers to some frontier skirmishes which might well have taken place while the armies of Sirīhapa lay encamped in Mālwā and Gujarāt. It is quite likely that when Mathurā and Banaras were occupied by the Muslims, scions of the Hindu royal families formerly ruling there might have migrated to Madhya Bharat and the Madhya Pradesh and carved out small principalities for themselves. Just as the Guttas of Dharwar described themselves as the lords of Ujjayinī or Pāṭalīputra, or just as the Yādavas claimed to have formerly reigned at Dvāravatī, though they had in fact never been in possession of these cities, so also the immigrant descendants of royal families from Banaras and Mathurā, who had perhaps created for themselves small states in Madhya Bharat, might have styled themselves lords of Mathurā and Banaras, even though these cities were no longer in the possession of their families. Similarly the local rulers at Jabalpur and Tummāṇa may possibly have been known as Kokkala and Jājalla to their contemporaries. It is but natural that since the boundaries of Sirīhapa's empire touched Chhattisgaḍh

¹ *Ep.* i, 340-1.

² A ruler named Kākala is also known to have flourished in south Kārnāṭaka at about this time (*MAAR*, 1929, p. 142). Can he be Kakkula referred to by Hemādri?

³ Gauḍa king Rāmapāla was dead about eighty years before the accession of Sirīhapa.

and Jabalpur area, he might have had occasional clashes with the rulers of these territories, and might have penetrated into their kingdoms, as is suggested by the discovery of some coins of Simhana in Chhattisgarh.¹ Probably Hemādri had such frontier skirmishes in mind when he refers to the defeats of kings Kokkalla and Jajatta by Simhana.

Some of the Yādava records claim that either Simhana himself or his generals Kholeśvara, Rāma, or Bichana, had defeated the kings of Sindh, Pañchāla (Rohilkhand), Bengal, Bihar (Aṅga and Vaṅga), Kerala, and Pāṇḍya. All these claims are probably purely imaginary, for there is no independent evidence from outside the Yādava country to show that the Yādava armies ever penetrated to any of these distant provinces.

It will not be out of place to refer here briefly to the careers of two of the generals of Simhana who contributed substantially to the glory of his reign. It is curious to notice that one of them, Kholeśvara, was a Brāhman and the other, Bichana, a Vaiśya. Kholeśvara was a native of Khandesh and eventually became the governor of an extensive part of the Yādava kingdom, covering Khandesh, Berar, and portions of the Madhya Pradesh. It is interesting to note that Trivikrama, the father of Kholeśvara, was a pious Brāhman noted for his scholarship and regarded as an ornament of his *Agrahāra*. His son Kholeśvara, however, abandoned the *śruk* (the sacrificial ladle) for the sword and eventually became one of the greatest generals of the age. He probably began his career by helping Simhana in suppressing a local Abhīra chieftain named Lakshmideva, ruling at Bhambhāgiri, probably identical with Bhamer in the Western Khandesh, where a ruined fort is still in existence.² His next achievements were the overthrow of Hemādri, another local chief in the same locality, and the defeat of Bhoja, a petty king of Chandā in the Madhya Pradesh. He also distinguished himself in the campaign against the Hoysaḷas and helped his master to capture the fort of Torgal in the Southern Marāṭha Country. But his most important victories were obtained during his campaigns in Mālwa and Lāṭa, which have been already described above. Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara, followed the military profession of his father and was eventually killed in battle during a campaign which had as its object the annexation of Gujarāt. It is interesting to note that though Kholeśvara had given up the priestly profession as far as he himself was concerned, he yet had a soft corner in his heart for those who were following it, since he endowed a number of new *Agrahāra* villages and settled colonies of learned Brāhmins in them.

Jagadāḷa Purushottamadeva was Simhana's viceroy in the south in A.D. 1223, and was entrusted with the management of all his affairs. About A.D. 1230 he was succeeded by Bichana, the son of Chikkadeva, who was destined to become one of the most famous generals of Simhana. He was a Vaiśya by caste and has been described as a Yama in destruction and a new Chāṇakya

¹ JNSI, viii, 151.

² Mirashi in *EI*, xxv, 213.

or Vishnugupta in political intelligence. His master trusted him as he did his own heart. He took a prominent part in the wars against the Hoysaḷas. One of his inscriptions claims that he planted a column of victory on the banks of the Kāverī.¹ In recognition of his valuable services he was appointed viceroy of Karnatak and he offered valuable help to his master in curbing the feudatories there and in maintaining peace and order.

The long narrative of wars and conquest, given above, might lead the reader to suppose that Siṃhaṇa was merely a warrior and nothing else, but such was not the case. He was a cultured ruler, who could appreciate music and patronize literature. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Sāraṅgadeva was written in his court. It is an interesting and important work on music and shows wide acquaintance with the music both of south and north India. The work marks an important landmark in the history of musical science. Siṃhaṇa himself is reputed to have written a commentary on this work.² Whether he actually wrote the commentary himself, or whether one of his courtiers composed it and passed it off as his royal patron's work, we have no means of knowing.

Chāṅgadeva and Anantadeva were two famous astronomers of this age, both of whom lived as members of the court of Siṃhaṇa. Liberal royal patronage enabled Chāṅgadeva to establish an astronomical college at Pāṭaṇa in Khandesh in memory of his illustrious grandfather Bhāskarāchārya. Anantadeva wrote a commentary on a chapter of Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, as he did also on the *Bṛīhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira.

The Yādava empire reached the zenith of its glory and power in the reign of Siṃhaṇa. Neither the Hoysaḷas nor the Kākatīyas, neither the Paramāras nor the Chaulukyas dared to challenge his supremacy in the Deccan. Each of these powers was attacked in turn by Siṃhaṇa and each was defeated. The Hoysaḷas had to surrender the Ceded Districts, Bombay, the Karnatak and the northern parts of Mysore State. The Chaulukyas had to relinquish Lāṭa or southern Gujarāt and for a considerable period the Narmadā became the northern boundary of the empire. Its precise extent is difficult to determine; but we may not be far wrong in asserting that all the territories to the south of the line connecting Broach and Nagpur and to the north of the line connecting Girsoppa with Kurnool were included in it. A large part of this extensive territory was no doubt actually governed by feudatories, but they were all loyal to, and lived in fear of, the imperial power. Some indeed of these like the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, who had shown signs of insubordination, were promptly punished by the annexation of their principalities, which were incorporated in the empire.

It must however be admitted that Siṃhaṇa followed the traditional policy of the Deccan power, that of continually aggrandizing itself at the cost of its neighbours in the south and the north. Events in Northern India do not seem

¹ *JBBRAS*, xv, 387.

² *EHD*, iii, 195.

to have perturbed him much. Even when Mālwā and Gujarāt were gradually crumbling under the onslaught of the powerful Islamic armies, Śirīḥaṇa could not rise above the narrow dynastic prejudices of his house and go to their assistance. Instead of organizing a common front against the northern invaders, he attacked Gujarāt and Mālwā from the rear and hastened their fall before the armies of Islam. His descendants, as will be soon seen (pp. 351-355), had to pay heavily for this political folly within less than fifty years after his death.

Śirīḥaṇa had a son named Jaitugi,¹ who predeceased him. This need not surprise us, since Śirīḥaṇa enjoyed a long reign of at least thirty-seven years, and he must have been nearly seventy at the time of his death in A.D. 1246. Whether Jaitugi had any brothers, we do not know. After Śirīḥaṇa's death, the crown passed to his eldest grandson Kṛishṇa.

Luckily the date of Śirīḥaṇa's death, like that of his accession, is not in any doubt. Two records of his successor make it quite clear that he must have died sometime towards the end of A.D. 1246, most probably either in November or December of that year.²

Kṛishṇa

(A.D. 1246-60)

As shown already above, the accession of Kṛishṇa took place in November or December 1246. Since the new king succeeded his grandfather, he perhaps was not more than about thirty at the time of his accession. In several Canarese inscriptions his name appears as Kaṇḥa, Kaṇḥara or Kandhara in its Prākṛit form.

The unending dynastic struggle between the Yādavas, the Chaulukyas, and the Paramāras, which permanently benefited none of the combatants but eventually weakened them all, continued unabated throughout the new reign. After the death of his general Rāma in the battle on the Narmadā in about A.D. 1239, Śirīḥaṇa had stopped active interference in the affairs of his northern neighbours. He was getting old and was probably exhausted by a lifetime of warfare. His grandson, however, was an enthusiastic young prince anxious to win fresh laurels in the field, and he decided to launch an expedition to the north. Circumstances were undoubtedly favourable for such a venture, for the Paramāra power had been considerably weakened during the previous two decades. The capture of Bhilsa and Ujjayinī by Iltutmish in 1235 and the destruction of the famous temples there dealt a serious blow to the prestige of the Paramāra power, and Jaitugideva, who succeeded Devapāla in about

¹ He was acting as heir apparent and had a minister under him in A.D. 1229. *SII*, ix, no. 367. He must have died after this date.

² The end of November 1248 fell in the second year of Kṛishṇa's reign but the 25th of December 1248 fell in his third year; *EC*, vii, Ś. no. 217; *SIER*, 1926, App. c, p. 426.

1240, had neither the resources nor the ability to retrieve the situation. Soon after his accession Kṛishṇa decided to invade Mālwa. A number of Yādava records¹ claim that he was a veritable Śiva to Madana in the form of the Malava king. It is, however, doubtful whether Jaitugideva was in fact killed in battle on this occasion as is suggested by this simile. He may have been only defeated. Kṛishṇa's victory over the Paramāras is mentioned in Yādava records as early as 1250. This invasion of Mālwa was thus evidently the first military venture of the new king. It does not seem to have been followed by any annexation of territory.

After defeating the Paramāras, Kṛishṇa attempted to invade Gujarāt where Viśaladeva, the son of Viradhavala, was ruling. There was already a long-standing feud between the two dynasties, but Viśaladeva's marriage with a Hoysala princess seems to have given additional provocation for Kṛishṇa's invasion at this time.² Hemādri's eulogy and the Paithan plates both claim that Kṛishṇa defeated Viśaladeva;³ while the records of the latter assert that it was he who defeated the Yādava ruler.⁴ It appears that Kṛishṇa attempted no serious invasion. There were only inconclusive frontier skirmishes, in which sometimes Kṛishṇa and sometimes Viśaladeva got the upper hand. None of these skirmishes led to any significant territorial changes.

No other political events of any importance occurred during the short reign of Kṛishṇa. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya attacked the Kākatīya kingdom soon after his accession in A.D. 1252 and penetrated as far as Nellore,⁵ and Bichana, one of Kṛishṇa's generals, claims to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas sometime before A.D. 1253.⁶ It would appear that Kṛishṇa was asked for help by the Kākatīya ruler Gaṇapati, who had been a Yādava feudatory for several years. Bichana, who was then viceroy of the south, must have been dispatched partly in response to Gaṇapati's appeal and partly as a precautionary measure, lest the invader should attempt to penetrate still farther and perhaps to violate the Yādava territory itself. Chāmuṇḍa, another general of Kṛishṇa, claims to have humbled the pride of Someśvara, the Hoysala king, sometime before A.D. 1250. The reference may be to some frontier skirmish, either in this or in the preceding reign. His Munoli inscription asserts that Kṛishṇa had also defeated the Cholas, but we need not take this claim too seriously.⁷ The statement in another record that Tripuri was captured by Kṛishṇa may, however, be true;⁸ the old Haihaya kingdom was practically a no-man's land at the time and Kṛishṇa or one of his generals may well have occupied its capital for a while.

During his short reign Kṛishṇa managed to keep intact the empire which he had inherited from his grandfather. He was a follower of Vedic Hinduism

¹ Munóli Inscr. *JBBRAS*, xii, 35; Nulandapur Inscr. *EI*, xix, 27.

² *IA*, vi, 196.

³ *Ibid.*, xiv, 314.

⁴ *PAHI*, p. 283.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xii, 4.

⁶ e.g. Dabhoi Inscr., *EI*, i, 28.

⁷ *JBBRAS*, xii, 42.

⁸ *IA*, vi, 196; xiv, 69.

and is said to have brought fresh strength to it by his numerous sacrifices. He had a number of able ministers and generals to help him in the administration. General Bīchaṇa and his elder brother Malliseṭṭi continued to serve the Yādavas as loyal officers and efficient governors in the Karnatak. The latter, who had been a mere district officer under Siṃhaṇa, rose to the position of *sarvadeśādhipikāri*, or viceroy for the whole country, early in the reign of Kṛṣṇa. He was succeeded some time in about 1250 by his son Chāmuṇḍarāya, who bore the titles of *mahāpradhāna* and *mahāmātya*.¹ Another minister of his was Lakshmidēva, a Gujarāt Brāhman, who claims to have helped his master to consolidate his power.² He was succeeded by his son Jahlaṇa, who was as expert in counsel as he was in leading the elephant phalanx. He boasts that he secured victory for his master on many battlefields. Jahlaṇa was also a man of literary taste, for he compiled, or perhaps got compiled, an anthology of verses called *Sūktimuktāvalī* containing choice selections from celebrated Sanskrit poets. Jahlaṇa's two sons, Rāmachandra and Keśava, were each given fiefs in the Satara District and continued to serve the imperial cause after the death of their father.³ It was not only light literature which flourished in Kṛṣṇa's reign, for the *Vedāntakalpataru*, a commentary on the *Bhāmātī*, which itself is a commentary upon Śaṅkarāchārya's *Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya*, was also composed at this time. It seems that at the time of his accession in 1246, Kṛṣṇa had either no son, or he had one who was not old enough to take his place as *yuvārāja*. We therefore find his brother Mahādeva helping the administration as the heir-apparent as early as A.D. 1250. At this time, at any rate, the relations between the two brothers must have been more than cordial, for they are described as similar to those existing between Rāma and Lakshmaṇa.⁴ Kṛṣṇa died rather prematurely in 1260 and it appears that the dying monarch consented to the passing of the crown to his brother, probably on the understanding that the latter would in due course be succeeded by his own son Rāmachandra who was then too young to rule. The 12th of April, A.D. 1260, is the last known date of Kṛṣṇa.⁵ His death occurred probably soon thereafter, for the Raudra *samvatsara*, A.D. 1260-1, fell in the first year of his successor's reign.

Mahādeva

(A.D. 1260-70)

Mahādeva, the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa, succeeded him in the latter half of A.D. 1260. There is no evidence to show that he was acting as a regent for his minor nephew. He bore full imperial titles.

¹ *JBBRAS*, xii, 43.

² *PAHI*, p. 283.

⁴ *EI*, xix, 19.

² *Dabhoi Inscr.*, *EI*, i, 28.

⁵ *EI*, xxi, 11.

There were two Śilāhāra families ruling in the Konkan at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Of these the one, the capital of which was Kolhapur, was overpowered by Śirhāṇa in about A.D. 1215. The other continued in authority in the northern Konkan with Thana as its capital down to about A.D. 1260, governing of course as a feudatory of the Yādavas. Keśirāja Śilāhāra ruled at Thana from about A.D. 1195 to 1240. There were even then occasional clashes between him and his Yādava overlords.¹ But the relations between the Śilāhāras and the Yādavas became much more strained during the reign of his successor, Someśvara (c. 1240-65), for reasons as yet undiscovered. A.D. 1260 is the last known date for Someśvara, and Hemādri tells us that his patron Mahādeva defeated and exterminated this ruler. The invasion of the northern Konkan was probably the first military undertaking of the new Yādava king. The expeditionary force, which was strong in elephants, signally defeated the Śilāhāra army on land. Someśvara then took to his ships. Mahādeva pursued him at sea with his naval squadron, and in the engagement that ensued Someśvara was drowned. Hemādri states that the Śilāhāra king preferred to sink beneath the waves, because he thought that the fire burning under the ocean would be less oppressive than the wrath of Mahādeva.²

It is usually presumed that the Śilāhāra kingdom of Thana was annexed to the Yādava empire after the death of Someśvara, for we find that it was being governed by a Yādava governor in A.D. 1273.³ But a fragmentary inscription now raises some doubt about this matter;⁴ for it shows that Mahārājādhirāja Koṅkaṇachakravartī Jaitugideva was ruling Konkan in A.D. 1266. Since this ruler assumed the title Koṅkaṇachakravartī, usually borne by the Śilāhāras, and since two of his ministers, Māināyaka and Chandraprabhu, were also officers under Someśvara, it would appear that Jaitugideva, a son or a relation of Someśvara, had managed to re-establish the Śilāhāra power by A.D. 1266. On the other hand the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja assumed by Jaitugi, as well as his name, would suggest that he was a prince of the imperial Yādava family who was governing the province with the help of the ministers of the old régime.⁵ This uncertainty as to the actual facts can be resolved only by the discovery of new material, which may yet prove decisive.

The Kākatīya king Gaṇapati died in A.D. 1261 soon after the demise of the Yādava emperor Kṛishṇa, and was succeeded by his daughter Rudrambā. The presence of a woman upon the throne was naturally a temptation for her feudatories to rebel, and for a time there was chaos in the Andhra country.

¹ See for instance v, 18 of the Tasgaon plates of Kṛishṇa, where Chandradeva, a son of Jahlāṇa, claims to have defeated the king of Konkan.

² *IC*, ii, 417.

³ *JRAS*, v, 178.

⁴ *El*, xxvi, 129.

⁵ There is nothing improbable in this; Purnia, the minister of Tipu, was administering the kingdom even under the British, when the latter deposed the old dynasty and placed the Hindu ruler on the throne.

Mahādeva decided to exploit this situation and invaded the Kākatiya kingdom. We may well credit the statement of Hemādri that the Yādava army was victorious and captured several elephants from the enemy. Whether this was only a frontier skirmish or whether Mahādeva penetrated as far as the capital, but refrained from pressing home his victory because his opponent was a woman—as claimed by Hemādri—it is difficult to say.

The Hoysaḷa kingdom had by this time been divided into two parts, and Narasimha II, who was ruling its northern half, was only a youth of twenty-two at the time of his accession in A.D. 1262. When by about A.D. 1266 Mahādeva became free from his commitments in the Konkan and Andhra country, he determined to attack the new Hoysaḷa king. Hemādri claims no specific victory for his patron Mahādeva over the king of the Karnatak; on the other hand two Hoysaḷa records describe how, underrating the power of Nārasimha, the Sevuṇa king Mahādeva entered the battle on his elephant in grandiose style; how, being unable to withstand the enemy's attack, he took to his horse; and how, overcome by terror, 'he galloped away at night, thinking flight his best hope under the circumstances'.¹ This detailed and circumstantial description leaves no doubt that Mahādeva was in fact completely defeated by the Hoysaḷa forces.

This disaster to the Yādava arms inspired the Kadambas to rebel and Mahādeva sent his general Balige-deva to suppress the uprising.² He appears to have succeeded in his mission and to have re-established his master's supremacy about A.D. 1268.

Let us now survey the relations of the Yādavas with their northern neighbours during this reign. It is claimed in the Paithan plates that Mahādeva had defeated Viśaladeva, but since this ruler had died in A.D. 1262 the statement probably refers to the campaign undertaken in Kṛṣṇa's reign, in which Mahādeva may have participated as *yuvārāja*. Hemādri states that the Mālavas put a boy upon the throne, because they knew that Mahādeva would not attack a minor. The real reason, however, for Mahādeva's not launching an attack against Mālwa and Gujarāt seems to have been his preoccupation with military operations in the south.

'The Gauḍas entered anthills and the Utkalas, losing shame, fled away', says one record regarding Mahādeva.³ These victories over the rulers of Bengal and Orissa seem to be purely imaginary.

Mahārāja Tapparasa was the Sarvādhikārīn or prime-minister under Mahādeva. He continued to hold this post down to A.D. 1275.⁴ Devarāja was an officer working in the southern provinces.⁵ Noḷambavāḍi (the Shimoga District) was in charge of two brothers, Chatṭarāja and Kucharāja, who had their headquarters in Belur.⁶ These brothers belonged to the

¹ EC, iv, Ngm. no. 9; v, Chn. no. 269.

² Ibid., vii, Ś. no. 41; xi, Dg. no. 79.

³ Ibid., no. 59 (Harihara Inscription).

⁴ Ibid., Dg. nos. 102 and 70.

⁵ SIER, 1932-3, no. 172.

⁶ EC, vii, Cl. no. 21.

Brāhman caste; they were as eager to cherish and encourage the Brāhmanical faith as they were to distinguish themselves in their new Kshatriya profession. Kolhapur was under the charge of a feudatory named Māideva.¹ Lastly Hemādri himself was an important officer. He continued to hold office under Rāmachandra after he had been entrusted with the superintendence of the secretariat and the elephant corps.² He completed his *Vratākhaṇḍa* in the reign of Mahādeva.

May-June, A.D. 1270, is the last known date in the reign of Mahādeva.³ He died soon after that time and was succeeded by his son Ammaṇa.

Ammaṇa

Ammaṇa, who began to rule in the latter half of A.D. 1270, was destined to have only a short reign. His cousin Rāmachandra was the eldest son of Ammaṇa's uncle Kṛishṇa, and Ammaṇa's succession probably contravened the understanding given by Mahādeva at his accession that he would hand over the throne not to his own heir, but to his nephew, the minor son of his dying brother. Public opinion seems to have been on the side of Rāmachandra. So also were most of the important officers and trusted generals, for we find many of them, like Hemādri and Tikkama, who had been genuinely and deeply attached to Mahādeva,⁴ deserting his son Ammaṇa's cause, and transferring their allegiance to Rāmachandra immediately after his accession.

When Rāmachandra decided to make a bid for the throne, Ammaṇa did not secure and imprison him, or rather most probably was unable to do so. Rāmachandra seems to have escaped from the capital, and from his place of concealment to have planned to win the throne by a ruse. Ammaṇa, a gay, pleasure-loving youth, was fond of dancing and music. Rāmachandra selected a few brave and resolute followers with whom he gained entrance into the fort of Devagiri as the leader of a band of strolling actors. Once there, he soon managed to arrange a performance before Ammaṇa, and while the king was engaged in enjoying it, the actors suddenly threw off their masks and seized him and his principal supporters.⁵ The *coup d'état* was completely successful, doubtless because most of the generals of Ammaṇa, with the exception of Narasimha, had no real sympathy for his cause.

This version of what occurred, given in a contemporary document issued by Rāmachandra himself, may be taken as correct. It may at first seem a little improbable, but there is on reflection nothing impossible in it, if we assume,

¹ *SMHD*, iii, 22.

² Thana plates, *JRAS*, v, 183.

³ Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 529.

⁴ Tikkama was so attached to Mahādeva that in A.D. 1280, ten years after Mahādeva's death, he built a temple at Harihara to commemorate the memory of his late master. *EC*, xi, Dg. 59.

⁵ *EI*, xxv, 290.

as we have every reason for doing, that Rāmachandra had the secret sympathies of the court officers.¹

A number of Mahānubhāva works state that Rāmachandra blinded his cousin immediately after imprisoning him.² One authority states that he put him to death. It is possible, however, that Ammaṇa died a natural death in prison, and that people may have believed that his death was hastened by his cousin.³

Ammaṇa had a short reign of only about a year. During this period he must have been fully occupied in the struggle against the efforts of his cousin to wrest the throne from him. The vague exploits that are attributed to him, curiously enough in the charters of his rival, should probably be regarded as purely imaginary.

Rāmachandra

(A.D. 1271-1311)

Rāmachandra's accession took place in the latter half of A.D. 1271.⁴ Public opinion seems to have felt that he was perfectly justified in using force and stratagem to secure the throne which rightfully belonged to him. Whether it approved of the subsequent blinding (and murder?) of Ammaṇa we do not know. Most of the trusted ministers of Mahādeva were disinclined to champion the cause of his son. They almost immediately transferred their allegiance to Rāmachandra and began to serve him loyally and zealously.

Rāmachandra signaled his accession by organizing an expedition to Mālwa. Arjunavarman II had recently ascended the Paramāra throne (in c. 1270) and a dispute had arisen between him and his minister, which resulted in a bloodthirsty conflict and eventually led to the division of the kingdom between the two disputants.⁵ Rāmachandra therefore found it an easy matter to overwhelm and scatter the attenuated and demoralized Mālwa army.⁶ It seems that in the course of the same campaign certain inconclusive frontier skirmishes occurred between the Yādavas and Gurjaras. We find each side equally claiming victory in these.⁷ The Yādava army returned to its

¹ The author of *Bhāmavilāsa*, a Mahānubhāva work, states that Rāmachandra took his cousin unawares while they were both out on a hunting expedition, and managed to capture him. The version in the copper plate, being in an official document, may be taken to be more reliable than the one in the *Bhāmavilāsa*, whose author was probably more interested in spiritual than in mundane matters.

² *Līlācharitra*, Līlā no. 725, *Bhāmavilāsa*.

³ *Nāgadevacharitra* of Paraśurāmaṇya states that Ammaṇa was killed by Rāmachandra. But since this work ascribes the subsequent defeat and capture of Rāmachandra by the Muslims to his sin of killing his own cousin, one may doubt its historic truth. Other Mahānubhāva works merely state that Ammaṇa was blinded.

⁴ Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 329. Some late records (e.g. *EC*, viii, Sb. 209) of Rāmachandra suggest that his reign began in A.D. 1270. This may be due to a desire to ignore the short reign of Ammaṇa, whom the partisans of Rāmachandra regarded as a usurper.

⁵ *Elliot*, iii, 24.

⁶ Udaṛi Inscription, *MAJR*, 1929, p. 143.

⁷ The Thana plates claim victory for the Yādavas while the Cintra *prastuti* do so for the Gurjaras.

base before the end of A.D. 1271 after a short campaign of four or five months.¹

We have already seen how the Yādava forces were signally defeated by the Hoysaḷas when Mahādeva led an expedition in person against that southern kingdom. This defeat had long rankled in Rāmachandra's heart and he now decided to organize a powerful expedition to avenge it. Two or three years were devoted to making thorough preparations, which were entrusted to the seasoned soldier and general Saḷuva Tikkamarasa, Joyideva and Harapāla,² who were also experienced generals, were deputed to help Tikkamarasa.

Moving from its bases at Banavāsi and Nolaṃbavāḍi, the expeditionary force entered Hoysaḷa territory in the autumn of 1275. It carried everything before it and eventually reached Belavāḍi, not far from the Hoysaḷa capital, Dvārāsamudra. Tikkamarasa halted here for a while in order to complete his plans for the siege and capture of Dvārāsamudra. In the meantime the Hoysaḷa king Narasiṃha sent out an army under the command of his youthful and energetic generals Anka and Māideva to drive back the invader. These efforts proved all unavailing and the Hoysaḷa army was defeated with great slaughter about the end of January 1276. Encouraged by these victories, Tikkamarasa advanced to the capital and laid siege to it. The besieged forces now fought bravely for their capital and king. A number of Hoysaḷa generals including Nanjeva and Gullaya were killed in action. Eventually, on the 25th of April 1276, Aṅkeya Nāyaka, the son of the Hoysaḷa commander-in-chief, led a determined attack and drove back the invaders. "I will take Dvārāsamudra in a single minute" was the boast of Tikkamarasa, says a Hoysaḷa record; 'but when brave Aṅkeya fell upon the Yādava forces, Haripāla was afraid, Saḷuva Tikkama fled, and Joyideva beat his mouth. . . . Though Saḷuva had spread over the whole country of Belavāḍi, Aṅkeya gave him time neither to remove his last encampment nor to take food, and drove him back as far as Dhummi'.³

Saḷuva Tikkamarasa was no doubt ultimately foiled in his attempt to capture the Hoysaḷa capital and had to raise the siege and return home at the beginning of the summer of 1276. But he none the less brought back with him a vast plunder, including a large number of horses and elephants.

Occasional skirmishes did take place between the Yādavas and Hoysaḷas during the next fifteen years, but there was no further major encounter. An internecine war was in progress between the two brother Hoysaḷa rulers, Narasiṃha and Rāmanātha, although their father had divided the kingdom between them expressly in order to avoid this. They therefore were in no

¹ The victory over the Mālavas is mentioned in the Paithan plates issued in January 1272.

² Later on we shall come across another Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmachandra. Since the latter was only a youth of about twenty-five in A.D. 1275, it does not seem possible that he could have had any son-in-law at the time of this Hoysaḷa expedition.

³ *EC*, v, Belur nos. 120, 165, 167.

position to avenge the humiliation inflicted upon them in the siege of their capital by the Yādavas. Rāmachandra on the other hand was fully occupied by military campaigns elsewhere, and had then no further time to follow up his victories on the southern frontiers of his domain.

Directly he was freed from his commitments in the south, however, Rāmachandra planned an expansion of his kingdom in the north-east.¹ He first attacked the kings of Vajrākara (probably Vairagarh, eighty miles north-east of Chanda) and Bhaṇḍāgāra (Bhandara, thirty-eight miles east of Nagpur) and brought their territories under his sphere of influence. Then he marched northwards to Tripuri near Jabalpur, which had once been the capital of the defunct Kalachuri kingdom, and occupied it without any difficulty. With this city as his base of operations, he resolved on a bold invasion of the Muslim empire. He was anxious to restore Banaras to Hindu rule, marched straight upon that city, and occupied it. Since Purushottamapuri plates state that he built a temple at Banaras after its conquest, which was dedicated to the god Śāraṅgdhara, we may well presume that Rāmachandra not only took possession of Banaras but also occupied it for at least two or three years. This must have been after the death of Balban in A.D. 1286 and before the accession of Jalal-ud-Din Khalji; we know that during this interval Delhi was for a while unable to hold and protect the outlying provinces. It is further claimed that Rāmachandra defeated the king of Kanauj and penetrated as far as the Kailāsa range, but there does not seem to be much truth in these assertions.² Clashes doubtless took place between the Yādava forces and the Subedar of Kara near Allahabad; there is, however, no reliable evidence to show that Rāmachandra was able to advance to Kanauj or the Himalayas.

Rāmachandra was not able to retain his hold over Banaras for very long. With the advent of 'Alā-ud-Din at Kara as its governor, his forces had to withdraw southwards, probably not later than about A.D. 1291.

While the imperial forces were engaged in the Gangetic plain, feudatory chiefs in the Konkan ruling at Sangameshvar and Khed (in the Ratnagiri District) and Mahim (near Bombay) rebelled against Rāmachandra. Rāmachandra sent his son to chastise them and he successfully accomplished his mission.³

The Yādavas were undoubtedly at the height of their glory in A.D. 1292. Their hereditary enemies, the Hoysalas, had been crushed and they had succeeded in penetrating as far as Banaras. But their power soon declined

¹ The following paragraph is based upon the data furnished by the Purushottamapuri plates of Rāmachandra; *EI*, xxv, 199.

² Love of alliteration, rather than the desire to mention the actual incidents, seems to be responsible for the mention of Kānyakubja and Kailāsa in verse no. 17 of the Purushottamapuri plates.

³ Purushottamapuri plates, v. 17 and *BG*, i, ii, 27. A record from the Somb *taluk* dated A.D. 1294 refers to an officer as 'hunter of hostile Konkanakas' (*EC*, viii, Sb. 502). This person may have recently returned from the Konkan campaign.

and after about twenty years the kingdom was annexed to the north-Indian Islamic empire.

The daring raid of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the then governor of Kara-Manikpur, undertaken in A.D. 1294, marked the first stage in the decline of the Yādava power. It is usually assumed that the raid was dictated primarily by the desire of the governor to acquire the resources he so badly needed, by the judicious use of which he hoped one day to pave his way to the throne. But another motive, that of punishing King Rāmachandra for his raid into the Uttar Pradesh a few years earlier, may also have influenced his action.

'Alā-ud-Dīn had planned his audacious enterprise with great care. He decided to march only after he had been definitely assured by his spies that the main Yādava army was far away in the south on a raiding expedition. He first gave out that he was only leading a punitive force against Chanderi, and thereafter professed to be marching to Rājahendri to seek service under the king of that territory, since he was dissatisfied with his treatment by his own uncle. Moreover during his march he pitched his camps on the borders of desolate places, in order to avoid attracting attention. When, however, he reached Lachur, the governor of the place reported the advent of the hostile army to the capital and endeavoured to prevent its further advance. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, however, easily overcame the opposition and rapidly reached Devagiri by forced marches at amazing speed.

Rāmachandra was completely taken by surprise. 'Alā-ud-Dīn had with him a force variously estimated as between 6,000 and 8,000 horsemen. Against it Rāmachandra could raise a militia of only about 4,000; he was, therefore, easily defeated in an engagement fought near the capital and had to take shelter in the fort. This, however, had then no ditch around it nor were its walls yet complete. The king's plan was to hold out until his son, who had been summoned to his assistance with the utmost urgency, should reach the capital to rescue him. But the fort was not provisioned for a siege and Rāmachandra was therefore compelled to sue for peace. 'Alā-ud-Dīn agreed to retire on receiving an indemnity consisting of about 1,500 pounds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, 40 elephants, and several thousand horses. He also obtained the hand of one of the daughters of Rāmachandra, who further agreed to pay an annual tribute equal to the revenues of the Elichpur District. The raider had succeeded in exacting all this booty and was about to retire within a fortnight of his arrival, when Śaṅkara-deva, the crown prince, reached the capital with a force more than twice as large as that of 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

Muslim historians are not agreed as to what happened after the arrival of the crown prince. The later ones among them, such as Firishta, tell us that in spite of his father's advice he reopened hostilities but was defeated by 'Alā-ud-Dīn who then naturally imposed a much heavier indemnity. 'Isamī, however, records that the crown prince accepted his father's advice and

desisted from attack, though he had a much larger force under his command than that of the enemy.

'Alā-ud-Dīn's raid was no doubt a daring exploit, 'whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of its execution or the great good fortune which attended its accomplishment'. It reflects little credit on the efficiency of the Yādava administration that it should not have anticipated the danger of a Muslim attack from the north and strongly garrisoned the Vindhyan passes; the capital lay open without any adequate defence. That 'Alā-ud-Dīn's retreat should not have been cut off, and that no effort should have been made to retrieve the disaster at Devagiri by surrounding and destroying the army on its return through little known passes and forests would seem to prove that the Yādava leadership was completely demoralized, and its forces confused and discouraged.

During the next eight or nine years 'Alā-ud-Dīn was occupied with various affairs and incidents in northern India. It is surprising to notice that the four Hindu states of the south—the kingdoms of Devagiri, Warangal, Dvārāsamudra, and Madura—should have learnt no lesson from the raid of 'Alā-ud-Dīn and the possibilities it foreboded. The Khaljis had become masters of practically the whole of northern India and their resources in men, money, and materials were much larger than those of any single Hindu kingdom in the south. The only chance of survival of these lay in forming a pan-Hindu league, pooling the resources of the whole of the Deccan. But not a single statesman in any of the Deccan states seems to have conceived this idea or tried to realize it. We have seen already how the Yādavas had stabbed the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras in the back while these were being weakened by invasions from Delhi (pp. 534, 539); the discomfiture of the Yādavas at the hands of 'Alā-ud-Dīn was now fully exploited both by the Kākatiya ruler Pratāparudra and the Hoysala king Ballāja II. As soon as the news of Rāmachandra's defeat reached Warangal, Pratāparudra invaded and annexed the Yādava districts of Anantpur and Raichur. A little later, in A.D. 1296, the Hoysala ruler Ballāja annexed the Santalige one thousand and invaded the Banavāsī twelve thousand in A.D. 1300. Neither of these rulers had the foresight to realize the common danger and to form a common alliance. They had their ancient hereditary feuds with the Yādavas and were only rejoiced that the Muslim victory over the latter enabled them to pay off their old scores.

Rāmachandra continued to send the agreed tribute to Delhi till A.D. 1303 or 1304. In that year the armies of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, marching against the Kākatiyas from Bengal, were defeated by Pratāparudra. This event induced a section of the Yādava court to imagine that the imperial power was declining and could be flouted with impunity. The crown prince Śaṅkara was the leader of this party and prevailed upon his father to stop the payment of the annual tribute. He also excited the imperial wrath by deciding to marry Devaladevi, a daughter of King Karṇa of Gujarāt, whom Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn

had wished to have handed over to him, since her mother Kamalādevī, whom he had married after she had been made prisoner, desired to have the company of her daughter.

After the conquest and annexation of Mālwa, the Sultan sent two forces in 1307, one under Malik Ahmad to capture Devaladevī and another under Malik Kafūr to reimpose his authority over the Yādavas. 'Isamī's information that King Rāmachandra had sent a secret message to the Sultan informing him that he was a mere prisoner in the hands of his crown prince and had no sympathy with his rebellion seems to be correct. For when the Yādava forces under Śaṅkaradeva were defeated by Kafūr in the vicinity of Devagiri, in March 1307, and King Rāmachandra was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi he received remarkably courteous treatment from the Sultan. 'Alā-ud-Dīn restored his kingdom to him, giving him in addition the district of Naosari as a personal *jagīr*. He was also given the title *Raja-i-Rājān* and permitted to go back to Devagiri to rule his kingdom as an imperial feudatory.

Rāmachandra was deeply affected by this kind treatment and remained completely loyal to the Sultan throughout his life. When the imperial army halted at Devagiri in 1309 on its way to Warangal, he offered it all possible facilities. When two years later a second army arrived at Devagiri on its way to Dvārāsamudra, he placed all the resources of his kingdom at the disposal of his sovereign, and not only supplied cotton, wool, and brass objects 'beyond computation', but also directed his general Purushottama to guide the force to the borders of the Hoysala kingdom. Personal loyalty, however, was not the only impulse behind this conduct; the Yādavas were the hereditary enemies of the Hoysalas and their king Ballāladeva had recently exploited the discomfiture of Rāmachandra at the hands of 'Alā-ud-Dīn by snatching from him the districts of Santalige and Banavāsī. The prospect of the defeat of King Ballāla at the hands of the Sultan was not, therefore, unpleasing to the old Yādava king.

The exact date of the death of King Rāmachandra is not known, but it seems to have taken place sometime in A.D. 1311.¹

The reign of Rāmachandra lasted for forty years (1271-1311). It was thus long but not glorious. In his earlier years it is true that he inflicted smashing defeats on the Hoysalas and even succeeded in penetrating as far as Banaras in the course of a raid. But he had no real political foresight. It seems that he did not appreciate the significance of the expansion of the Muslim power in northern India or learn any lessons from it. He should have realized that he would be the first Deccan king to succumb to the imperial ambitions of the Sultans of Delhi, whose resources were very much greater than his own. Another ruler with more statesmanlike acumen would have tried to form a south Indian Hindu federation to oppose the onslaught of the north Indian Islamic imperialism. Rāmachandra failed to conceive any such

¹ He was still living in September 1310, when the Purushottampurī plates were issued by him.

project. Probably he was not more to blame in this connexion than his contemporaries ruling at Warangal, Dvārāsamudra, and Madura, who were all too much actuated by personal jealousies to think of any action in common. Rāmachandra's defeat in 1294 was no doubt due to his being unprepared, but in succeeding years he did not make any effort to retrieve the situation. Probably he realized that his resources were too small as compared to those of 'Alā-ud-Dīn to offer any possibility of successful revolt, and therefore decided to remain loyal to him, in spite of his son's opposition to this policy. He thereby no doubt succeeded in keeping his kingdom intact down to the end of his reign.

Śaṅkaradeva

(A.D. 1311 to 1312)

King Rāmachandra had three sons, Śaṅkara, Ballāla, and Bimba. Of these Śaṅkara, who was the eldest, resided permanently in the capital city and assisted his father in the administration. He ascended the Devagiri throne at his father's death in 1311. During Rāmachandra's reign Prince Bimba was a viceroy of southern Gujarāt and Ballāla of southern Mahārāshṭra; the same arrangement probably continued after the accession of Śaṅkara.

We have seen already how Śaṅkara, as crown prince, was all along opposed to the policy of his father in submitting meekly to the dictates of Delhi. When therefore he ascended the throne, he immediately repudiated the overlordship of 'Alā-ud-Dīn and declared his independence. The courage of Śaṅkaradeva in this respect was no doubt admirable. His military and financial resources were as nothing when compared to those of the Sultan, who was now the undisputed overlord of practically the whole of India and whose armies had gained the reputation of invincibility. On hearing of Śaṅkaradeva's rebellion, 'Alā-ud-Dīn once more sent Malik Kafūr to put it down. He easily defeated Śaṅkaradeva, who seems to have been taken prisoner and put to death. Malik Kafūr annexed the Yādava kingdom and administered it himself from Devagiri where he stayed for about three years. He succeeded in bringing most of the Yādava territory under his rule. A few local governors in the south like those of Raidurg, Kampili, and Kandhyana (the modern Simhgarh near Poona) refused to recognize the new government, but Malik Kafūr did not care to proceed against them. He devoted his time and attention entirely to the proper organization of the new administration.

He treated all those who submitted to him with kindness and moderation. Under his rule, people quickly began to feel a sense of security and the province prospered as a whole. Like all other Muslims of his age, however, Malik Kafūr believed it to be meritorious to pull down temples and build mosques in their places. His actions in accordance with this belief caused

much unhappiness to his Hindu subjects. However, Devagiri began to become a great centre of Islamic culture under his administration.

When 'Alā-ud-Dīn fell seriously ill towards the end of 1315, Malik Kafūr hastened back to Delhi, leaving 'Ain-ul-Mulk in charge of the Devagiri administration. The latter, however, was soon recalled by him to help him in his new duties. There were now few Muslim troops at Devagiri, and Harapāladeva, probably a son-in-law of King Rāmachandra, and Raghava, a minister under the same ruler, came forward boldly to re-establish the Yādava power. But the resurrected Hindu State was unable to maintain itself for more than two years. When eventually Quṭb-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh managed to secure a firm control over the Khalji empire, he decided to march personally against Devagiri and put down the rebellion. He reached the Deccan in 1318, defeated both Harapāla and Rāghava without any difficulty and re-established his authority over Mahārāshṭra. King Harapāla fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death.

The Yādava power thus came to an end in 1318. The Khalji emperor now appointed Muslim officers to administer the different districts of Mahārāshṭra.

III

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

THE Yādava kingdom had the usual features of a monarchy. The crown usually passed from the father to the eldest son. In some cases, when the eldest son happened to be a minor, a younger brother of the last king would succeed to the throne. This would sometimes lead to internecine strife, as for instance happened more than once during the twenty-five years preceding the accession of Bhīllama V (c. A.D. 1180). No instance is known of the division of the kingdom in order to satisfy the claims of rival princes. Nor did public opinion tolerate the claiming of the crown for his descendants by a younger brother. Mahādeva carried out the duties of the crown prince during the reign of his elder brother Kṛishṇa, and also succeeded him on the throne, since Kṛishṇa's son Rāmachandra was too young to rule at the time of his father's death. But his effort to secure the crown for his own son Ammaṇa in place of the rightful heir, his nephew Rāmachandra, met with only temporary success. The high officers and generals sided with Rāmachandra and supported his cause.

The King

The notion that the functions of a king are similar to those of the divine guardians of the earth, which is met with in contemporary works on political science, is also to be found in some of our records.¹ Kings, however, did not claim and were not credited with infallibility. Queens and princesses are but rarely seen taking part in the administration. Lakshmī, a sister of Kholeśvara, the Khandesh feudatory of Siṃhaṇa, is seen governing her brother's principality during her nephew's minority. Bhāgubāi, who governed Tardewadi, was probably a relative of Siṃhaṇa. But these two cases seem to be exceptional.

For about 300 years the Yādavas ruled a small principality as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas. When, however, they won imperial status, the territory under their control continually expanded, till at last it covered practically the same area as that of the Rāshtrakūṭa or the Chālukya empire. During the reign of Siṃhaṇa and his successors it came to include southern Gujarāt, the Marāṭhi Madhya Pradesh and Berar, the Bombay Mahārāshṭra, the western half of the Hyderabad State, the Bombay Karnatak, the Ceded Districts, and the northern districts of Mysore. The Kākatīyas, who were at this time ruling the eastern half of the Hyderabad State, were

¹ *El*, iii, 112, Bahl Inscr. v, 10.

for a long period feudatories of the Yādavas, but they seem to have enjoyed complete internal autonomy. Within the empire itself there were, as usual, a number of feudatories who very often had their own vassals and sub-chieftains. During the reign of Simhaṇa, for instance, Khandesh and Berar were administered by his feudatory Kholeśvara, who had under him a number of smaller princelings belonging to the Abhira, the Nikumbha, and other families. In the Karnatak also, the Raṭṭas, the Guttas and the Kadambas were ruling as vassals of the Yādavas, while actually enjoying a great deal of freedom to act as they pleased.

Feudatories and Viceroys

The powers and privileges of these feudatories appear to have been in general the same as they had been under the Rāshtrakūṭa administration. They had to pay a fixed tribute and to bring their troops to take part in the imperial campaigns when ordered by the emperor to do so. Otherwise they seem to have acted almost as independent rulers. They could alienate revenues for charitable and other objects; nay, even if an imperial viceroy desired to make a grant from their revenues, he had to obtain their permission before doing so.¹

Territories not under feudatories were directly administered by the central government through its own viceroys. Curiously enough these also frequently enjoyed the status and title of a feudatory and often transmitted their posts to their sons.² They can therefore be distinguished from the feudatories referred to in the last paragraph only as being of more recent origin, and more directly under the jurisdiction of the supreme power. Provincial viceroys were selected from the most successful military leaders; they usually enjoyed the title of *daṇḍanāyaka*. They controlled the feudal chieftains of inferior rank, maintained law and order, supplied levies to the central government and collected the land revenue. They had no authority to alienate revenues or assign villages; even such a powerful and favourite viceroy as Bichana, before whom the lesser chiefs trembled in awe, had to ask permission of his sovereign Simhaṇa before he granted the revenues of a village for a religious object.³ Important provincial viceroys not only enjoyed feudatory status, but also held their own courts and appointed their own ministers.

It is strange that the Yādava records should not, like the Rāshtrakūṭa plates, refer to the different grades of territorial officers such as *rāshtrapatis*, *viśhayapatis*, and *bhogapatis*. Because of this omission it is not possible to say what exactly were the administrative divisions under the Yādavas and what

¹ See Haratahalli plates; *JBBR-AS*, xv, 386.

² Thus Kholeśvara and Malliseṭṭi were succeeded by their sons Rāmachandra and Chaṇḍiseṭṭi respectively.

³ The omission of reference to this permission in the Thana plates seems to be purely accidental; see *EI*, xiii, 203.

were their names. Probably the Yādava empire was also divided into *rāshṭras* and *nishayas*, even though these are not specifically referred to in the existing grants.

Council of Ministers

The Central Government was carried on by the emperor with the assistance of a council of ministers. The institution of such a council was regarded as indispensable for good administration. Crown princes were accustomed to appoint their own ministers when they were functioning as viceroys and the same was the case with ordinary persons appointed to important governorships. Thus the crown prince Jaitugi's minister is referred to in one place, and the premier of Tikkamadevarāya, the southern viceroy of Rāmachandra, in another.¹ In A.D. 1063, when the Yādavas were a small feudatory power, their ministry consisted of seven officers among whom the Premier (*mahāpradhāna*), the Foreign Minister (*sanadhyagrāhī*), the Revenue Minister (*mahāmātya*), the War Minister (*mahāprachandandāyaka*), and the Chief Secretary (*paṭalakarani*) were the most important. It is rather unfortunate that the records of imperial times should have preserved for us no names of the portfolios of the different ministers. We may, however, conclude on the strength of earlier and contemporary practice that the ministry must have included all the portfolios in existence in 1069 with the addition of several more like those of the Ecclesiastical Minister (*paṇḍita*) and the Judicial Minister (*prādhivāka*). When the kingdom expanded into an empire, the number of assistants or secretaries working under the different ministers must have been considerably increased.

Certain officers like Bichāṇa, Tikkamarasa, Purushottama, &c., who were undoubtedly provincial viceroys, are also described as *mahāpradhānas* or prime ministers in the Yādava records. As means of communication were very slow in those days, it is doubtful whether the principal officers of the central government residing at Devagiri could also have functioned as viceroys of distant provinces like the Southern Karnatak. A number of Yādava viceroys, however, are recorded as using the title of *mahāpradhāna* or premier. It seems that this designation indicated that the status of the provincial viceroys who were honoured with it was actually that of a prime minister, and not that they were actually discharging the duties of that officer.

Proficiency as a military commander was apparently almost an indispensable qualification for promotion to the ministry under the Yādavas, as it was also under the Rāshtrakūṭas. Jaitrapāla, the prime minister of the first Yādava emperor, Bhīllama V, was as great a general as he was a statesman. The same was the case with almost all the important ministers, who are usually described in our records as *dandānāyakas*, or military leaders.

One would have supposed that at least in the case of Hemādri, the orthodox Brāhman author of the *Vratakhanda*, the military qualification might

¹ *SII*, ix, nos. 367 and 387.

have been dispensed with when he was selected a minister by Mahādeva and continued in that office by Rāmachandra. But such was not the case. Contemporary evidence shows that Hemādri was as intimately acquainted with the theory and practice of the training of war elephants as he was with the details of the different *vratas*. Not only so, but he had also led a successful military expedition and subdued a rebellion in the Jhādi District.¹ Nāgarasa too, the prime minister of Kṛishṇa, was as great a scholar as he was a soldier.²

It is clear that the knowledge of military science and the art of leadership were largely cultivated even by literary men during our period. Chaṅgadeva, who was the court astrologer of Siṁhaṇa, was a highly skilled swordsman and an accomplished wielder of the lance.³ Ministers were also expected to be well grounded in the theory and practice of political affairs; some of them indeed are expressly described as persons whose intellect had been tempered and developed by intensive study of politics and other sciences.⁴ Nāgarasa, the prime minister of Kṛishṇa, was equally distinguished as scholar and soldier.⁵

The successful functioning of the ministry, it was held, was dependent on the king's being able to trust his ministers as implicitly as his own heart, and on their being in their turn 'as skilled in political science as Vishnugupta (Kauṭilya), and as efficient in destroying the enemy as the god of death'. And in fact, in accordance with this pronouncement, certain ministers are described as bosom-friends and close companions of the emperor, others again as his right hand or mouthpiece.⁶

Most of the leading ministers and generals enjoyed the status of *mahāsāmantas* or *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras*. Probably they also enjoyed *jāgīrs* given to them as an equivalent of monetary remuneration, and they were responsible for their proper administration. Mahāpradhāna Malliseṭṭi is described as granting the revenues of a village which was situated in his own jurisdiction or *jāgīr* (*svādhikāraṇishaye*).⁷ The Toragala six thousand and the Sindewadi one thousand which Mahāpradhānas Purushottama and Basavarsa respectively administered were probably in fact their own *jāgīrs*.

Provincial and District Officers

The central secretariat controlled the provincial and district officers through its own inspecting staff whose members were called *gaṇakas* or

¹ JRAS, v, 183.

² LA, vii, 39.

³ Ibid., vii, 39.

⁴ Cf. अनेकराजनीतिशास्त्रोक्तविवेकवर्द्धितबुद्धिकौशलः LA, xii, 126.

यो जिहा पृथिवीशस्व यो राक्षो दक्षिणो भुजः । LA, xiv, 10.

⁵ EI, xxi, 13.

⁶ विद्यासे हृदयोपमं परबलध्वंसे हतानोपमं । बुद्धौ नूतनविष्णुगुप्तसदृशं . . .

SII, ix, no. 363.

JBRAS, xv, 5.

accountants. Their functions were probably similar to those of the *valla-bhājñāsañchārins* of the Vākāṭaka administration. Members of this inspecting staff sometimes went astray themselves and had to be called to order by their superiors.¹ When royal officers visited villages for inspection, they were sumptuously entertained.² Naturally the villagers had to foot the bill; imposts and special charges in connexion with the arrival, temporary residence, and departure of royal officers, mentioned in various records, must have been levied to defray such expenditure.

The administrative machinery, generally speaking, seems to have been reasonably efficient and considerate. The government was accustomed to give compensation to villagers when they had suffered as a consequence of the movement of troops or of the action of the enemy.³ Even when land grants were made for religious objects, the precautions necessary in the interest of efficient administration were not forgotten. Rights inconsistent with local usage and practice were not recognized. The administration did not encourage absentee landlordism; some grants state that the Brāhman donees could enjoy their shares of the alienated revenue only if they continued to stay in the village. They were further required to be virtuous and loyal in their behaviour. Courtesans were to be given no asylum, gambling was not to be patronized, and the donees were not to organize themselves into a military band.⁴

Prisons and the Village Panchāyats

Prisons were maintained for detaining offenders, who were kept there in chains. Minor offences and civil suits were tried locally at the village *chāvāḍi*,⁵ with the help of the village *panchāyat* presided over by the headman; serious offences were tried by officers of the central government. There is no evidence to show how far popular will could influence the Central Yādava administration. Our records do not refer to any councils of the people's representatives either central or provincial; probably such bodies did not exist. Central and provincial governments, however, had few duties apart from the maintenance of law and order. Most of the beneficial and ameliorative functions of government were discharged by the village communities, in which the popular element predominated. The will of the people could thus make itself felt along certain lines in the affairs of government only through the channels of the village *panchāyats*.

Sources of Revenue

Some of the privileges conferred upon the grantees in our records give us a glimpse into the main sources of the revenues of the State under the Yādavs.

¹ LA, xii, 127.

² *Jñānīvarī*, 18.795.

³ स्वचक्रपरचकोत्थितविदुलादिद्रव्योपचयाकुपद्रवादिविवर्जितः । LA, xii, 119.

⁴ EI, ii, 217; LA, xiv, 318-19.

⁵ *Jñānīvarī*, 16.295.

We find that they were more or less the same as those found under the Rāshtrakūṭas. The State claimed ownership in mines, hidden treasures, waste lands, pastures, forests, orchards (on State lands), lakes and public wells; many of our records transfer the State's income from the above sources to those named in the benefice. Arable lands belonged to private individuals;¹ these had to pay to the State the land tax (*udraṅga*) which formed the backbone of its revenue. Cultivators were also subject to some additional minor imposts which were called *uparikaras*. The incidence of the land tax under the Yādavas cannot be ascertained from the evidence available at present; its percentage was, however, reduced when lands were made the subject of grants to temples and Brāhmins.

Customs and excise duties were the next most important sources of revenue. Customs officers are often referred to in the Yādava records,² but how they discharged their functions and at what rate they levied the duties on different articles is not known. It appears that the State claimed the right to demand the best articles brought to the market by a merchant as part of its tax upon him. This claim was doubtless not always enforced, but in the normal course of events a certain percentage varying from 5 to 20 seems to have been levied on sales.

Military Organization and Navy

We get occasional glimpses into the military organization of the Yādavas partly from contemporary inscriptions and partly from the *Jñāneśvarī*, written in c. A.D. 1290. Soldiers were very carefully selected from the members of the village militias. The bow and arrow, the sword, and the spear were the principal weapons. The shield was the principal means of defence, but the soldiers were also supplied with coats of mail. There was keen competition for employment in the regular forces, since the soldiers were permitted to retain part of the spoils of war and booty acquired.³

The Yādava forces consisted partly of the standing army directly recruited and paid by the central government, and partly of the levies contributed by the provincial viceroys and feudatories. There was thus no general coherence or *esprit de corps* uniting the whole imperial army, and its strength depended to a great extent upon the loyalty, good-will, and efficiency of the viceroys and feudatories who commanded and led the various contingents. The Yādava empire had a long seaboard, and there is some evidence to show that it maintained a small permanent navy. This was in fact brought into use when Purī, the island capital of the Śilāhāras, was captured. The navy, however, does not seem to have aimed at controlling the routes to the west or the east.

¹ When villages were granted to temples or Brāhmins, these became entitled only to the revenues which the State used to derive from the villages and not to the produce which was gathered from the fields included in them. See *LA*, xiv, 69; *JBBRAS*, xii, 7.

² *SII*, ix, no. 364.

³ *Jñāneśvarī*, 7.11; 9.214; 18.1047; 18.46.

IV RELIGION

Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism

OF the three main religions of ancient India, Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, the last mentioned had practically ceased to exist during the Yādava period. There are neither sculptures nor paintings nor inscriptions to show that either Kanheri or Ajanta were active centres of Buddhism during our period. One Buddhist establishment existed at Dambal in the Karnatak during the eleventh century; it is, however, very doubtful whether it continued into the time of the Yādavas. With the disappearance of its monasteries, Buddhism vanished from the land, for it had no organization among the laity. Hinduism borrowed a good deal from Buddhism and silently shed a number of its features which had been the object of reprobation by the Buddhists. The Buddha himself had by this time been recognized by the Hindu faith as an incarnation of the Supreme God. Buddhism and Hinduism thus became amalgamated; the former was not supplanted by the latter, but rather absorbed into it.

The spirit of toleration and harmony that had existed in Hindu society since early times continued to manifest itself also in the Yādava period. A Deccan record of this period, which describes the supreme spirit as being at one and the same time Śiva, Brahmadeva, Viṣṇu, Jina, and the Buddha, gives us a glimpse into the religious outlook of the age, which regarded even the founders of the heterodox faiths as so many incarnations of the one Supreme Spirit.¹

There is no wonder that while the general religious outlook was so broad and catholic, followers of the differing forms of belief should have lived amicably together. We actually find the Hindus and Jains intermarrying. Thus Chandramauli, a minister of the Hoysaḷa king Viraballāḷa, was a Śaiva, but his wife Achyakkā was a devout Jain, offering her worship regularly in a Jain temple.² Brāhmins are often described as bees at the lotus feet of Jina.³ It should therefore occasion no surprise to come across some cases of the same donor founding and endowing both Hindu temples and Jain *basadis*.⁴

The prevailing spirit of harmony was unfortunately to some extent disturbed by the rise of the Vīraśaiva (Lingāyat) sect during the latter half of the twelfth century. There was keen rivalry between the followers of Jainism and those of the new faith, and sometimes they came to open blows.

¹ शिवाय धात्रे सुगताय विष्णवे जिनाय तस्मै सकलात्मने नमः EC, xii, Tm. 9.

² EC, ii, no. 327.

³ जिनपादपद्मभुंगेण विप्रकुलसमुत्तुंगेन । EI, iii, 201.

⁴ EC, ix, Nl. 84; xii, Tm. 9.

One reason for this state of affairs was the fact that the Viraśaiva sect gained most of its followers from the trading classes, often at the expense of Jainism, which had been so long popular among them. What may be described as active religious persecution, however, did not exist, for the rulers tried to keep an impartial attitude towards the rival beliefs and their adherents. The Yādavas were orthodox Hindus, but we find them extending patronage to the followers of the new religion as well as to those of their own faith. Thus the Gadag inscription of Śirīhaṇa records a grant given by him to Trikuṭeśvara, a Viraśaiva temple at Gadag.¹

Temples

The temples continued to be the main centres of public worship among the Hindus. Deities worshipped in them were the Purāṇic gods like Śiva, Kṛishṇa, Mādhava, Sūrya (the Sun), &c. Pandharpur and its Viṭṭhala temple had already become a famous centre of worship. We find Mallisetti, the southern viceroy of Kṛishṇa, making a grant to its temple while encamped in the vicinity during the course of his campaigns.² It is interesting to note that the deity at Pandharpur was then known as Viṣṇu and not as Viṭṭhala. Temples also continued to be built in the names of departed kings; we find Tikkama, a general of Mahādeva, building at Harihara a shrine called Mahādeva-Rāya-Nārāyaṇa in memory of his late master.³

The records belonging to our period show that temple worship was then more or less similar to what it is now. Musk and sandalwood paste were used; flowers and garlands were offered; fragrant perfumes were burnt, and lamps and camphor censers were slowly swung in ritual cadence. Devotees were also entertained with music and dances on special occasions.⁴

The temples continued to be the most important centres of philanthropic and cultural activities. Many of them maintained rest houses where free meals were available for the destitute. Some shrines maintained colleges for higher education, and the *sattras* administered by them offered invaluable assistance to poor students.⁵ The recitation of the Purāṇas, which spread Hindu doctrine and culture among both literates and illiterates, continued throughout the period to be a special feature of temple activities.

Private or personal religion became completely dominated in this period by the views and theories advocated by the Smṛitis, Purāṇas, and Nibandhas. It is interesting to note that no kings of this period nor any recipients of grants are described as engaged in the performance of Vedic rituals. The Vedas no doubt still continued to be regarded as inspired revelations, but

¹ *IA*, ii, 297.

² *Ibid.*, xiv, 69.

³ *EC*, xi, Dg. 59.

⁴ *EL*, iii, 292; *EC*, viii, Sb. 391; *SMHD*, iii, 15.

⁵ See Tasgaon plates, *SMHD*, iii, 15; Bagewadi plates, *IA*, vii, 304; Vaghli Inscription, *EL*, ii,

it was not the theories propounded in them, but rather the views advocated by the later Smṛiti writers like Parāśara and Aṅgiras, which held the field in the domain of religion.¹ Generally, however, these Smṛitis were being superseded in their turn by the Purāṇas and Nibandhas, the *vratas* prescribed in which were becoming increasingly popular. Thus King Bhīllama is described as devoted not to Vedic sacrifices but to the *vratas* and *upavāsas*.² A compendium of all these *vratas* and *upavāsas* was prepared by Hemādri, a minister of state who flourished under Mahādeva and Rāmachandra. We may safely assume that most of them had become generally popular and were freely quoted. A record slightly later in time (A.D. 1378) describes how the King of Vema had given all the *dānas* prescribed by Hemādri.³ The constant references to charitable gifts at *vratas*, which recur so often in the religious works of this period, do not necessarily imply that such donations contributed merely to the selfish interests of the priestly class; indirectly they also helped society as a whole. In fact we find several donors applying their generosity to the building of tanks and irrigation works and to the maintenance of dykes, canals, hospitals, and establishments for feeding homeless wanderers.⁴ The property of Brāhmins dying without heirs could not be claimed by the State; it was usually devoted to the financing of objects of public utility like the construction and upkeep of artificial lakes for water storage.⁵

Some of our records describe the formalities that were gone through at the time of making religious gifts, and these are very interesting. The selection of a proper time and place was regarded as very important. When this had been done, the donor used to bathe in the morning, offer *arghya* to the Sun and oblations to his ancestors, worship his tutelary deities, perform *homa*, obtain the assent of the elderly persons in the family and then proceed to make the grant.⁶

The belief in ghosts was common and there were persons who professed to exorcize them with success. There were also a few *haṭhayogis*, who would cut out flesh from their own bodies and offer it to a diety as the sacrifice. Some persons used to carry portable temples on their heads and thereby earn their livelihood.⁷

New Religious Movements

Let us now turn to the new religious movements which appeared in this age. Of these the Mahānubhāva may be considered first. Govindaprabhu and Chakrapāṇi are but shadowy figures in the history of this sect and are usually mentioned only because they were respectively the preceptor and preceptor's preceptor of Chakradhara, the real founder of the movement. Chakradhara

¹ See the Sangamner grant, *EI*, ii, 219; Kalas Budruk grant, *IA*, xvii, 121.

² *EI*, ii, 219.

³ *EC*, viii, Sb. 277; *EI*, xxiii, 189.

⁴ *JMHD*, iii, 15.

⁵ *EI*, iii, 61.

⁶ *EC*, xi, Dg. no. 70.

⁷ *Ja.*, ii, 234; 17.97; 17.716.

was the son of Viśaladeva,¹ a Gujarāt princeling, his original name being Haripāla. He eventually renounced the world and became a disciple of Govindāprabhu, whom he met at Riddhipura while on a pilgrimage to Rāmaṭeka. He obtained full God-realization in A.D. 1273 and thereafter founded the Mahānubhāva sect. He recommended the worship of Kṛishṇa and Datta, emphasized the supreme importance of devotion (*bhakti*), non-slaughter (*ahimsā*), and good conduct, and maintained that God was *saguṇa*, the relation between the divinity and the devotee being that of master and servant. Renunciation (*sanyāsa*) was the supreme ideal for every devotee and even women were admitted into the sect as nuns. This last step was counter to the prevailing practice in Hinduism and Buddhism and may have been partly responsible for the subsequent unpopularity of the sect. Another cause for this was the permission accorded to the monks and nuns to beg cooked food from the members of all castes alike without any distinction.

It seems that the Mahānubhāva sect attracted the attention of King Rāma-chandra and that he and some of his queens were enrolled among its followers. But later on the royal devotees abandoned their allegiance to the movement for reasons as yet unknown. During the following centuries the Mahānubhāva sect founded its *maṭhas* in the Punjab and even in Afghanistan, but it never again became popular in Mahārāshṭra.

Far different is the history of the Bhakti movement associated with Śrī Viṭṭhala or Pāṇḍuraṅga of Pandharpur. We have shown already how a grant was made in favour of this deity by a Yādava minister in A.D. 1249. A record in the temple of Viṭṭhala at Pandharpur, inscribed in A.D. 1273, shows that pilgrims from Telangana and the Karnatak, Mahārāshṭra, and the Madhya Pradesh, used to visit the temple and vie with one another in their benefactions to the establishment. This temple became the most famous centre of popular worship in the Deccan towards the end of the thirteenth century, when its presiding deity became the supreme object of adoration in the Bhakti school. The Bhakti movement was rendered very popular by a number of poet-saints, most of whom were non-Brāhmans by caste. Among them Nāmadeva was a tailor, Janābāi a maid-servant, Senā a barber, and Narahari a goldsmith. Of these Nāmadeva was born in A.D. 1270,² while the others flourished in the following century. The Bhakti cult, which these saints popularized, has in fact been the real living religion of the masses of Mahārāshṭra during the last 600 years. It introduced democracy into the field of religion and preached its principles in a language that appealed to the heart of the ordinary man and woman by its simplicity, effectiveness, and sincerity.

The rise and tenets of the Lingāyat sect have been already discussed earlier.

¹ This Viśaladeva does not seem to be the same as the Vāghelā ruler of that name.

² This is the traditional date. Doubts have been expressed about its correctness.

V

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Caste System

THE caste system did not undergo any marked transformation in the Yādava period. Castes were determined by birth. The Viraśaiva and Mahānubhāva movements did indeed in theory raise their voices against the rigidity of the caste system, but actually they accepted it in practice. The system, however, was rigid only as far as the absolute prohibition of intercaste marriages was concerned. It did not prevent people from following a profession other than the one hereditary in their caste. We find many generals recruited from the Brāhman and Vaishya castes; Jahlaṇa and Kholeśvara, who were Brāhman, and Malliseṭṭi who was a Vaisya, are only some typical examples in this connexion.

The Brāhman of Mahārāshṭra were strictly vegetarian. They would never take food from non-Brāhman and avoided as far as possible having any communication with the untouchables. Their professions were usually the same as those followed by members of their caste in the Rāshṭrakūṭa period.

The Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were brought down to the level of the Shudras during our period. It was at this time that untouchability took on its present form and character. The untouchable classes were the same groups of persons as those so considered in the preceding period.

Contemporary records often give the surnames of the recipients of grants, and we find that some of these are still in use. Thus the surnames Paṭṭa-vardhana and Ghaṭisāsa can be traced back to the thirteenth century.¹ Migrations of Brāhman from one province to another took place from time to time. Thus the beneficiary of the Kalas Budruk plates was an emigrant from a village in the Madhyadeśa (Uttar Pradesh). He settled in the Nāsik District and eventually became a minister of state. One of those benefited by the Chikkabagewadi grant is called Vārāṇasiya; possibly he was an immigrant from Banaras. Children of these immigrants probably married with the children of local Brāhman. There was as yet in this period no strong prejudice against interprovincial marriages.

Women

As far as the position of women is concerned, early marriages of girls at the age of 10 or 11 became customary in this period. This practice was a death-blow to female education. The custom of *suttee* had begun to prevail

¹ *IA*, vii, 306.

in royal families; at the death of Rāmachandra several of his queens immolated themselves as *suttees*. The custom, however, was not popular outside Kshatriya circles, for certain writers of the age such as Vijñāneśvara argued that it was not permissible, at any rate, for Brāhman widows, since it was after all in effect a kind of suicide. A widow's right to inheritance of property had become a firmly established custom in the Deccan during our period. Widows usually put off all ornaments, but they did not as yet shave their heads. The purdah system had not yet come into existence.

VI

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

TEMPLES, *agrahāra* villages, and capital cities continued to be the main centres of higher education. Unfortunately contemporary records afford us no description of any of these educational institutions. The donors of some of the grants are called '*vedārthadas*', 'expounders of the Vedic hymns', '*kramavids*', 'experts in "*kramapāṭha*"', '*daśagranthis*', 'well-grounded in the ten branches of Vedic lore', '*sarvajñasarasvatis*', 'omniscient like Sarasvati', or '*prasannasarasvatis*', 'favourites of the goddess of learning'. It is obvious that these must have been famous teachers, who imparted higher Sanskrit education free of charge in their private schools, which were known as *brahmaśālās*.

Apart from the *agrahāra* villages there also existed special colleges founded for specific purposes. One such college existed at Pāṭaṇa in Khandesh, having been founded by Chaṅgadeva, a grandson of Bhāskarāchārya, for the purpose of furthering the study of the astronomical works of his illustrious grandfather. This institute had received liberal grants from the State, and the residents of the town also aided it with voluntary contributions in cash and kind on various auspicious occasions.¹

Vaghli, another town in the Khandesh, was also a centre of higher learning.² Devagiri, the Yādava capital, must have been a well-known educational centre, as were most of the capital towns in Ancient India. The same must have been the case with Paṭhaṇa and Nāsik, which had been well-known holy places from very early days. It is a pity that the extant records should be silent about the educational activities of these places. Nor do they refer to any temple colleges, though there can be no doubt that these existed in the Yādava period, as they did in the times of other dynasties.

Let us now turn to the literary activities of the period. A number of astronomical works were written in the Deccan under the Yādavas by several members of a distinguished learned family, founded by Kavichakravarti Trivikrama, the author of the *Damayantīkathā*. His son Vidyāpati Bhāskarabhaṭṭa was a protégé of the Paramāra ruler Bhoja. Bhāskarabhaṭṭa's great-grandson was Kaviśvara Maheśvarāchārya (c. A.D. 1125), who composed two works on astrology, *Śekhara* and *Laghuṭīkā*. Maheśvara's son was the famous astrologer, Bhāskarāchārya, who wrote a number of works on mathematics and astronomy. Chief among these are the *Siddhānta-siromani* (composed in A.D. 1150) and the *Karaṇakutūhala*. The second

¹ EI, i, 341.

² Ibid., ii, 221.

chapter of the first of the above works is the best treatise on algebra to be found in Sanskrit literature.

Bhāskarāchārya, who was given the titles of *Sarvajña*, 'the Omniscient One', and *Vidyāsada*, 'the Abode of the Goddess of Learning', was well grounded both in the Sāṅkhya and in the Vedānta systems of philosophy. His son Lakshmīdhara and his grandson Chaṅgadeva were the court astrologers of Jaitugi and Siṃhaṇa respectively. Bhāskarāchārya's grand-nephew Anantadeva was also a protégé of Siṃhaṇa; he composed a commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira and also one on the seventh chapter of the *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta.¹

The *Samgītaratnākara* of Sāraṅgadeva is a work on music composed in the court of Siṃhaṇa. It is an interesting book showing a wide acquaintance with the music of both south and north. The *Sūktimuktāvalī*, an anthology of Sanskrit verse, was composed in the Yādava court in A.D. 1258. In the introduction it is stated that it was composed by Jahlaṇa, a commander of the elephant squadrons of King Kṛishṇa. But its colophon expressly declares that it was compiled by the physician Bhānu for Jahlaṇa, who was probably his patron.²

The most famous Sanskrit writer of the Yādava age is undoubtedly Hemādri. He was the officer who commanded the Yādava elephant brigade, in which post he seems to have succeeded Jahlaṇa. Later on he was made chief secretary to the Government by Mahādeva in about 1263. This office he continued to fill until about A.D. 1285.³

Hemādri is the reputed author of a number of Sanskrit works. The principal among these are the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, the *Kālanirnaya*, the *Tithinirnaya*, the *Ayurvedarasāyana*, the *Dānavākyāvalī*, the *Parjanya prayoga*, the *Tristhalavidhi* and the *Arthakāṇḍa*.⁴ Whether a busy minister, who in addition to the duties of his office was also in charge of the elephant squadrons maintained by the State, could have found time to write all these voluminous works may well be doubted. It is likely that some of them may have been written under the guidance or direction of Hemādri and their authorship then attributed to him by his protégés, as was done by Bhānu in the case of the *Sūktimuktāvalī*.

Of these works the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* may be justly regarded as representative of the religious outlook and beliefs of the age. It gives us a vivid picture of religious life in these times and of the different rituals and observances which had by then superseded the old Vedic religion. There is no doubt that many of these rites were actively practised by the bulk of the general population under the Yādava régime.

The rise of the Vīraśaiva sect in the latter half of the twelfth century gave a great impetus to Canarese literature; the Canarese works composed by its followers have been already mentioned in an earlier section. All the great

¹ *BJ*, i, 343; iii, 112.

² *SMHD*, ii, 6.

³ *GOS*, vol. 82.

⁴ Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 768.

Canarese poets of the thirteenth century like Janna, Mallikārjuna, Keśirāja, &c., flourished at the Hoysala court. Canarese literature did not prosper under the Yādavas, as it did under the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Later Chālukyas. The cause is not far to seek. The Yādavas themselves spoke Marathi and their capital city was at Devagiri, which was in the heart of Mahārāshṭra. The age of the Yādavas is therefore very important in the history of Marathi literature, for it originated at this time. The formal parts of inscriptions begin to appear in the Marathi language in some of the Yādava records. The earliest inscription of our period in which Marathi makes its appearance is the Parel Stone record of A.D. 1187 where the curse is written in the Marathi language: in the Pāṭana inscription of A.D. 1200 the concluding lines describing the voluntary contributions of citizens are also in Marathi. We may therefore fairly presume that Marathi had begun to be used as a vehicle of thought and literature during the twelfth and also eleventh centuries A.D., though we have no extant works as early as that period. Nevertheless the mature development of the language as a literary medium, which is to be seen in the works of Mukundarāya and Jñāneśvara, presupposes a literary activity of at least two centuries.

The earliest extant Marathi poet, Mukundarāya, flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century. King Jayantapāla of Jogai, the son of Ballāja, who is said to have been his pupil, cannot yet be identified, but we know that Mukundarāya composed his *Vivekasindhu* in A.D. 1188; in this work he expounds the Advaita philosophy on the lines followed by Śaṅkara and his school.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century flourished the great Jñāneśvara, who composed his immortal commentary on the *Gītā*, the *Jñāneśvarī*, in A.D. 1290, when he was still in his teens. Though almost the first man of letters to write in Marathi, Jñāneśvara had supreme confidence in the capacity of this language to express the most profound thoughts and the most elusive and delicate emotions; he foretold that his work would prove sweeter than nectar to its readers and would win the applause of the learned, and his prediction has indeed been amply justified. The *Jñāneśvarī* is in effect the first¹ really important work in Marathi, and no later book can compare with it either as a piece of poetry or as a treatise on religion and philosophy. Jñāneśvara was a gifted poet, a scholar of parts, an original thinker, and a deeply religious personality. No other writer in the Marathi language has combined all these qualities in himself as completely and thoroughly as did Jñāneśvara. Though ostensibly a commentary on the *Gītā*, the *Jñāneśvarī* is really an independent philosophical treatise.

Nāmadeva and Janābāi were junior contemporaries of Jñāneśvara, and their devotional Marathi songs are matchless in their beauty and incomparable in their religious fervour. Nāmadeva travelled on foot all over India

¹ The language of the *Vivekasindhu* in its present form is much later than that of the *Jñāneśvarī*.

and founded his *maṭhas* even in some places in the North. He also spent some years in the Punjab, where he established a *maṭha* at Ghoman in the Gurdaspur District, which is still in existence. We can thus understand how it comes to be that some of his songs are included even in the *Granthasaheb* of Nānaka.

The cause of Marathi literature got a further impetus in the Yādava period from the rise of the Mahānubhāva sect, which was first brought into prominence by Chakradhara. He was very insistent that his followers should write in Marathi and not in Sanskrit, and as a consequence of this preference the Marathi language became considerably enriched by the literary activities of the new sect. Chakradhara himself has left no literary works, but more than a dozen disciples of his composed books in Marathi, mostly on religious subjects. Amongst these, the *Śiṣupālavadha* of Bhānubhāṭa (A.D. 1273), the *Vatsalāharṇa* of Dāmodarapaṇḍita (A.D. 1278), the *Rukmiṇīsvayamvara* of Natendrapaṇḍita (A.D. 1288), the *Siddhāntasūtrapāṭha* of Keśavarāja (A.D. 1288), the *Nalopākhyāna* of Nṛsimhakesari, the *Riddhipuravarṇana* of Maheśvara Paṇḍita (A.D. 1373) and the *Līlācharitra* of Mahendra may be mentioned here. Some of these works throw important light on the events of contemporary history.

VII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE observations made about the wealth of the country, its industries, commerce, guild organization, &c., in connexion with the Rāshṭra-kūta period, also hold good about the age of the Yādavas. We will not therefore repeat them here but will merely add a few more details gathered from contemporary records and from the *Jñāneśvarī*.

The Virabaṇja continued to be an influential trade organization having its headquarters at Aihole with its branches spread over most of the important cities of south India. It was a powerful guild dealing in most of the principal kinds of merchandise, and its executive council seems to have consisted of 500 members. The *Jñāneśvarī* refers to a state currency in gold issued by the Yādava government and the discovery of the Rachapatanam hoard in the Kistna District now reveals its real nature. The gold coins were of the so-called *Padma-ṭāṇka* variety, weighing about 57 grains and bearing the names of the various rulers under whom they were struck. So far the coins of Śiṁhaṇa, Kanhara or Kṛishṇa, Mahādeva, and Śrīrāma or Rāmachandra have been identified.¹ It does not seem that the Yādava Government issued any silver or copper currency. Small transactions were probably done by barter. The *Jñāneśvarī* refers in one place to a currency in the form of inscribed skin pieces, but it seems extremely doubtful whether any Hindu government would have issued such a currency for its subjects. It appears not improbable that this particular passage in the *Jñāneśvarī* may be an interpolation made subsequent to the times of Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq.

Incidental references in the *Jñāneśvarī* would seem to indicate that the Deccan was in a very prosperous condition during the rule of the Yādavas. This inference is confirmed by the accounts of the loot taken to the north by Muslim raiders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The main streets of Devagiri and other important towns and cities of the empire were lined with the shops of goldsmiths, silversmiths, and dealers in pearls and fine and costly muslins. There were many wealthy householders and there was therefore a great demand for such articles, since rich men sought eagerly for ornaments with which to adorn themselves, their wives, their children and the images of gods. Ornaments and bullion were often buried underground in the houses of the more opulent. These lived in three-storied houses, with good windows and doors, painted with pictures on the outer

¹ *JRAS*, 1925, p. 16.

sides, and having guards stationed at the entrance. Cooks, umbrella-bearers and betel-carriers were among the servants who usually formed their retinues. The palanquin was the normal fashionable means of conveyance, but when a large number of people were to be transported, as in the case of a marriage party, even the rich used to travel in bullock carts. Horse carriages were not in use at this time. The poor people lived in thatched houses, as now; there is no evidence to show us precisely what was the ratio of the rich to the poor during this period. The usual rate of interest for secured loans was 12 per cent. per annum.

PART IX

THE KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL

by DR. N. VENKĀTARAMANAYYA and MR. M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

- I. Origin of the dynasty and early feudatory rulers—Bēta I, Prola I, Bēta II, and Prōla II.
- II. The Independent Sovereigns—Kākati Rudradēva, his victories over the neighbouring princes; Rudradēva's war with Bhīma of the Telugu Chōla family; subjugation of the Kōtas and the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis in the South, conflict with the Sēuṇas of Dēvagiri, suffered defeat and was killed in the battlefield; his ministers and officers. Mahādēva (A.D. 1193-98-99), a doughty warrior, invaded the Sēuṇa Kingdom and perished seated on the back of an elephant during the fight. Gaṇapatiḍēva (A.D. 1199-1261), and his captivity; invasions of Nāgati and the Chōla emperor, Kulōtthuṅga III; Gaṇapati's subsequent reinstatement and his invasion of the coastal Āndhra districts against Prithivīvara; after his victory over Prithivīvara Gaṇapati sent an army to Kālīṅga to reduce it to subjection; the Eastern Gaṅga incursion, the conquest of Kolanu, Gaṇapati's southern expedition, his relations with the Sēuṇas, his war with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura; Gaṇapati's inter-state relations, his family and vassals, generals and ministers. Rudramadēvi (A.D. 1259-95), rebellion of her half-brothers aided by certain nobles; they ousted her from the capital which she recaptured and put to death her half-brothers; Kākatiya authority re-established in the Godavari valley with the help of Nāyak commanders, war with the Pāṇḍyas who had usurped Kākatiya territory in the South, the Sēuṇa Mahādēva invaded the Kākatiya Kingdom but Rudrama fought valiantly and put the enemy to flight, Ambadēva, the Kāyastha chief, foreswore his allegiance to the Kākatiya queen, he entered into alliance with Sēuṇas and the Pāṇḍyas to cope effectively with the superior forces of the Kākatiyas, Rudramadēvi launched a three-pronged attack on Ambadēva and his allies, Rudramadēvi's vassals, ministers, and officials, her family. Pratāparudra (A.D. 1295-1323) recruited seventy-seven *nāyaks* to strengthen the defences of the kingdom, tested his new modelled army against some refractory Kāyastha chiefs whom he subdued, the Muslim, incursions into the Deccan, the earliest of 'Alā-ud-Dīn', expedition against Teliṅgāna in A.D. 1303, the Muslim generals Fakhr-ud-Dīn and Jhāju penetrated into the heart of the kingdom and reached near Warangal, they sustained a crushing defeat, the failure of the expedition did not affect 'Alā-ud-Dīn's designs of conquest and he dispatched a larger army under Malik Nā'ib who arrived near the Kākatiya capital on 24 January 1310, after a prolonged siege by the enemy Pratāparudra sued for peace and Malik Nā'ib agreed on the condition that Pratāparudra should hand over all his accumulated wealth and further pay annually a stipulated sum of money and send a contingent

of trained elephants and horses to the Delhi Sultān as tribute. 'Alā-ud-Dīn's confidence in Pratāparudra as a faithful ally, asked the latter to help Malik Nā'ib in the conquest of South India, Pratāparudra co-operated with the Imperial troops, succession of new Sultāns in Delhi, Pratāparudra did not send the stipulated annual tribute to Delhi owing to weakness of the Imperial control over the Deccan, Ghiyā-ud-Dīn Tughluq sent his son Ulugh Khān with a large army, the latter besieged Warangal, the siege lasted for six months, conflicting accounts of the siege by Muslim historians, *Isāmī* comparatively more reliable, Pratāparudra surrendered finally, ordered by Ulugh Khān to be taken to Delhi with his family, died on the way, Pratāparudra's family, his vassals, generals, and ministers.

- III. Military Institutions and Administration—Sources; Military Organization, the Army; the Government; Taxation; Irrigation; Land Reclamation.
- IV. Religion.

I

ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY AND EARLY FEUDATORY RULERS

THE Kākatiyas rose to power during the dominion of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The attempt made by certain scholars to trace the descent of this dynasty from Kākartya Guṇḍyana, a subordinate of the Eastern Chālukyan king, Amma II (A.D. 945-70), cannot be said to have been successful, since the evidence adduced by them is not strong enough to support their thesis. It is indeed possible that the names Kākartya, Kākatyā, and Kākatiya are etymologically connected, but there is no ground to warrant the belief that the Kākatiya kings of Anumakoṇḍa and Warangal were really the descendants of Guṇḍyana, the feudatory of the Eastern Chālukyan Amma II.

Bēta II, a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), was the first prince of the Kākatiya family to leave behind any records of his rule. His Anumakoṇḍa and Kāzīpēṭa epigraphs, dated respectively in A.D. 1079 and A.D. 1090, not only indicate clearly the period during which he flourished but also furnish some interesting information about his immediate ancestors.¹

According to the Kāzīpēṭa record, Bēta II's grandfather, Bēta I, 'churned the ocean of the army of the Chōḷa king and obtained the Lakshmi' (of Victory). This assertion should be compared with the statement in the Pālampēṭa inscription of the time of Gaṇapati² that Rēcheṅḷa Brahma, the progenitor of Rēcheṅḷa Rudra, who in all probability was the commander of

¹ *Corpus*, No. 7, pp. 25 ff.

² *H.A.S.*, No. 3, I. The Pālampēṭa pillar inscription of the time of Gaṇapatidēva, dated in Śaka 1135 (A.D. 1213), attributes the conquest of Kāñchī to a Kākati monarch, the campaign being directed by his general, Brahma of the Rēcheṅḷa family (v. 11). The Kākati monarch alluded to here is in fact no other than Bēta I. The relationship between Kāṭa, the father of Kāma Chamūpati, and Brahma, the first known member of the Rēcheṅḷa family, is not made clear in this inscription. Kāma is said to have been the chief officer of Kākati Prōḷa, the opponent of Manthena Guṇḍa. This Prōḷa is evidently Prōḷa II. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the difference in time between Rēcheṅḷa Brahma and his descendant Kāma corresponds to that between Bēta I and Prōḷa II. However, the Pīlalamagṛi record (*Corpus*, No. 41, pp. 114 ff.) of the Rēcheṅḷa chief Nāma says that Muchcha was the father of Kāṭa and that he was born in the family of Bamma, evidently Brahma, who 'having taken away the gate of the city of Kāñchī uprooted the tree of the dignity (*māna*) of the Chōḷa king in the play of the terrific battle' (*Cyala Kāñchinagari-kavāṭa-haraṇam kṛtvā prachand-āhara-kṛiḍa-Chōḷa-narādhiparaya kṛtvān māna-drum-ōnnūlanam*). Ibid., v. 4). Muchcha is in fact much earlier in time than Kāṭa. He was probably Brahma's grandson or his brother's son. These Rēcheṅḷa chiefs served the Kākatiyas, very loyally from the time of Brahma onwards. In order to understand correctly the comparative dates of the Rēcheṅḷa chiefs and their Kākatiya overlords the pedigrees given overleaf may be helpful to the reader.

From these pedigrees it would seem probable that Muchcha and his son Kāṭa were the commanders of Prōḷa I and his son Bēta II respectively. In this case Kākati Bēta and his commander,

Bēta I's army, 'slung open, like a curtain, the doors of the city of Kāñchī', and 'promptly brought about the marriage of the Kākatī monarch with the Goddess of Victory'. Neither the actual date of this victory nor the circumstances in which it was achieved, are known. Bēta I was an obscure petty chief in Telīngāṇa, which was then included in the Western Chālukyan dominions. He thus obviously could not, on his own account and entirely by himself, have led an expedition all the way across the Eastern Chālukyan kingdom to Kāñchī, defeated the powerful Chōla emperor, and captured the city. It is, on the other hand, not unlikely that Bēta I and his general Brahma did in fact accompany their Western Chālukyan overlords during an expedition which the latter conducted against the Chōla kingdom. Now before the date of the Kāzīpēta inscription the Western Chālukyas invaded the Chōla kingdom only once and that happened during the reign of Āhvamalla Sōmēśvara I. The Chōla king Rājādhirāja I, taking advantage of Sōmēśvara's expedition to Mālava, made an attack on the latter's capital, Kalyāṇi, and destroyed it by fire, in A.D. 1052, whereupon Sōmēśvara, as soon as he returned from Mālava, sent a large army under Polakēśin, and devastated, in retaliation, the city of Kāñchī, the northern capital of the Chōla kingdom. Bēta and his general most probably participated in Polakēśin's expedition and thereafter assumed credit for the success of the enterprise. Of the other events of Bēta's rule nothing is known, and it appears to have come to an end soon after his return from the South.

Bēta I was succeeded by his son Prōla who is said to have subdued a number of chiefs hostile to his overlord and to have acquired the hereditary rulership of Anumakoṇḍa-*viśaya* from Sōmēśvara I; to have 'straightened' the Chakrakūṭa-*viśaya*, that is Chakrakōṭ in Bastar, restored order after taking it from his enemies; to have subjugated the Koṅkaṇa-*maṇḍala*, put to flight Bhadrāṅga; conquered the son (not named) of Dugga of Kāḍparti, driving him into the forests; and killed in battle Gonna, the chief of Purukūṭa. Prōla's victory over these chiefs was perhaps his earliest achievement, after which by the acquisition of the hereditary rulership of the Anumakoṇḍa-*viśaya* he laid the foundation of a new principality which was destined to extend during the next century over the whole of the Āndhra country.

Prōla I took an active part in the military campaigns of his sovereign and overlord Sōmēśvara I. According to Bilhaṇa, the author of the *Vikra-*

Brahma or Bamma of the Rēcheṅga family, were the contemporaries and subordinates of the Western Chālukyan king, Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I (A.D. 1044-68 or Śaka 966-90).

Rēcheṅga Chiefs

Kākatīya Monarchs

Brahma or Bamma, Commander of	Bēta I
Muchcha	Prōla I
Kāṭa	Bēta II
Kāma, Commander of	Prōla II

māṅkadēva-charitra, Vikramāditya VI, son of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, while he was yet a prince, observing the unsettled state of affairs in the neighbouring Chōḷa kingdom, obtained the permission of his father and set out on an expedition of conquest. Vikramāditya advanced at first on the Koṅkan, which he brought under his control, and then passed through the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries; after this he attacked and captured Gaṅgakunḍa and Kāñchī, the two great cities of the Chōḷa kingdom, and then overcame Vēṅgī and Chakrakōṭa.¹ Prōla seems to have accompanied the Chālukyan army under Prince Vikramāditya to Koṅkan in A.D. 1066, and later assisted him in dislodging the Chōḷas from Chakrakōṭa and occupying the fort with its dependent territory. The identity of the Bhadrāṅga whom Prōla put to flight is not easy to establish. Bhadrāṅga in fact does not appear to be a personal designation, since no prince or chief of that name is known to have existed. It is not unlikely that it is the name of a place. And in fact there is a town named Bhadrāṅga very near Bastar on the banks of the Indrāvati, a tributary of the river Gōdāvari. As Prōla I is said to have put Bhadrāṅga to flight, this should probably be understood as meaning that he drove away the chief or the people of that place. Purukūṭa, in view of its similarity to Chakrakūṭa, must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bastar. There is actually a town of the name of Parakot in its vicinity, which may perhaps be identical with Purukūṭa. Just as Chakrakūṭa became Chakrakōṭ, Purukūṭa might have become Purukōṭ and subsequently Parakot in local speech. Bhadrāṅga and Purukūṭa appear to have been places of some importance in the Bastar State in ancient times. Prōla I evidently reduced them to subjection during the Western Chālukyan campaign against Chakrakōṭa. He drove away the people of Bhadrāṅga from their town and put Gonna, the chief of Purukūṭa, to death. Kāḍparti, the headquarters of the chief Dugga, whose unnamed son Prōla I subdued, lay perhaps in the neighbourhood of Warangal; it is probably identical with the present village of that name in the modern Warangal *tāluk* of the same district.

Thus, in all the important campaigns of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I and his son Vikramāditya, the Kākatīyas played a very definite part in helping them to win their victories. At first Bēta I and after him his son Prōla I remained firmly loyal to the Western Chālukyan standard, and thus won the affection and favour of their overlords. Delighted by the military ability and unswerving loyalty of Prōla I, the emperor Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I granted him Anumakoṇḍa-*vishaya* as a permanent fief. Prōla I thus became the founder of the Kākatīya principality, which under his ambitious successors grew into a powerful kingdom embracing the whole of the country. Although he was engaged in various wars throughout his reign, Prōla I seems yet to have found time to bestow attention on the civil administration of the kingdom and to promote its economic prosperity. According to the inscriptions in the temple of Ekāmranātha at Kāñchī and

¹ *Vikramāṅkadēva-charitra*, 4, 11-15.

Mōṭupalli of his grandson Gaṇapati, he constructed an irrigation tank of the name of *Kēsari* or *Jagatīkēsari* in commemoration of one of his own birudas.¹ Like his father before him, Prōla I was a Śaiva by faith, having been a pupil of Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, a well-known exponent of the *Lākuliśvara-Āgama*, on whom he bestowed the village of Vaijanāṃpalli, making it a Śivapura.²

Prōla I died about the year A.D. 1075 and was succeeded by his young son Bēta II. The most important event of the reign of this king was the outbreak of serious disturbances in his dominion, which brought the power of his family to a very low ebb. The circumstances in which this happened are not known. It is not unlikely that the outbreak was an aftermath of the civil war between Sōmēśvara II and Vikramāditya VI for the possession of the imperial throne; Bēta II probably supported the former, and on his defeat Vikramāditya either sent his armies to chastise him or instigated the chiefs who were his vassals to rise against him and overthrow his authority. It is significant that in the Hanumakoṇḍa inscription, dated Ś. 1001 (A.D. 1079-80), the title Tribhuvanamalla is not associated with the name of Bēta II, nor is there any reference in it to Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, who by that time had succeeded in establishing himself firmly on the imperial throne. Bēta II, however, had powerful allies who stood by him in the hour of peril and helped him to overthrow his enemies. Foremost amongst these were Erra and Rēva, the heads respectively of the Viriyāla and the Vēma-Chōla families. The former, according to an undated epigraph at Gūḍūr, in the Warangal district, took the side of Poṭṭa-Bēta (i.e. Bēta II), put his enemies to death in battle, and established him firmly in the Koṇavi country;³ and the latter, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1120 at Mātūru in the same district, offered protection to the kings of the Kākati family, defeated their enemies, and preserved the integrity of their kingdom.⁴ However, notwithstanding the victories of his allies, Bēta II does not appear to have felt himself securely established in his dominion without the sanction of the emperor. Therefore, his minister Vaija-daṇḍādhiśa, accompanied by Kāmasāni, the able wife of the Viriyāla chief Erra, took him to the court of the emperor Vikramāditya at Kalyāṇi, and having there caused him to prostrate himself at the feet of the emperor, secured for him the government of the Sabbi-Thousand which probably included the Anumakoṇḍa and the Koṇavi districts, and thus preserved the integrity of the Kākaiya principality.⁵ This event must have taken place before A.D. 1090, since in the Kāzīpēṭa record dated in that year, Bēta is said to have made the gift registered therein as bestowed during the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva, that is, Vikramāditya VI.⁶ The titles Tribhuvanamalla and Vikramachakrī which he thereafter assumed also indicate his submission to Vikramāditya. No information is available about the happenings in the

¹ *IA*, xxi, 197 f.; *El*, xii, 188 f. ² *Corpus*, No. 12. ³ *Ibid.*, No. 24; *Tel. Ins. Kāk.*, 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54. *Telingāna Inscriptions Revised* (Unpublished), No. 47.

⁵ *Tel. Ins. Kāk.*, 55; *El*, ix, 256, verse 3.

⁶ *Corpus*, No. 7.

subsequent years of his rule, except that he perhaps participated in the Mālaya and the Chōla wars of Vikramāditya.¹ The duration of his reign is not definitely known, but he appears to have succeeded his father about A.D. 1075, and to have died in or about A.D. 1090.

Successors of Bēta II

Bēta II appears to have been succeeded by his son Durganṛpati in or before A.D. 1090. He is represented by a single inscription at Kāzīpēṭa in the Warangal district, which, however, does not furnish any information of historical importance beyond the fact that he also, like his father, held the title Tribhuvanamalladēva.² Nothing is known about the duration of his reign or the events that happened in his time.

Durga was succeeded by his brother Prōla II in or about A.D. 1117. Two inscriptions belonging to his reign which have recently come to light, state that he established the son of Gōkarṇa on his throne, defeated Mēḍarāja, conquered Polavāsadēśa (probably the territory of this chieftain), and bestowed it on Gaṅgarāja, who built a temple for the God Prasanna Kēśavadēva at Hanumakoṇḍa.³ These facts are not, however, mentioned in the Hanumakoṇḍa record of his son, Rudradēva, which describes his other achievements at some length. Prōla II, according to this record, captured Tailapa, the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas, but, impressed by his devout and amiable bearing, immediately released him; he also conquered Gōvindarāja, plundered the territory of Udaya, which he, however, restored to its owner; pursued Guṇḍa of Mantrakūṭa, who having been defeated in battle fled to his capital, where his conqueror had his head shaved and caused him to be branded on the breast with the symbol of the boar. Prōla also repelled Jagaddēva, who had laid siege to his capital Anumakoṇḍa.⁴ Before proceeding to consider the identity of the enemies of Prōla II and the circumstances in which he came into conflict with them, it may be noted that he was originally only a *māṇḍalika*, the vassal ruler of a small tract of country comprising at most the whole of the Warangal and parts of the Karimnagar districts in Teliṅgāna and owing allegiance to the Western Chālukyan emperor of Kalyāṇi. The enemies whom he is said to have vanquished were likewise feudatories of the same sovereign holding appanages in different parts of Teliṅgāna in the neighbourhood of Prōla's territory.

The names of the son of Gōkarṇa and of the family to which he belonged are unfortunately not mentioned in Prōla's inscriptions, but the name Gōkarṇa, which is peculiar to the Kandūr branch of the Telugu Chōla family, seems to indicate that the unnamed prince and his father belonged in fact to this family. An inscription found at Māmīllapalli and dated Ś. 1100 (A.D. 1178) states that it was set up during the reign of a king of the name of Bhīma, who was the elder brother of Gōkarṇa of the Solar family. Three generations of kings, viz. Gōkarṇa I, his son Udayāditya, and his grandsons

¹ *Corpus*, No. 7.

² *Ibid.*

³ *JAHRS*, xxi, 105-6.

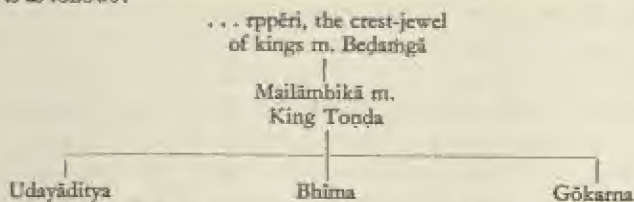
⁴ *Corpus*, No. 3.

Bhīma and Gōkarṇa II, are mentioned in this record.¹ It is not improbable that Gōkarṇa, the father of the prince whom Prōla II established on the throne, was the Gōkarṇa I of the Māmiḷlapalli inscription. And indeed we know that a Gōkarṇadēva Chōḍa was in fact ruling at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district during the early years of Prōla II. For, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which took place on a Friday, Phālguna-bahula Amāvāsya of the year Śubhakṛt, corresponding to the Chālukya-Vikrama (a mistake for the Śaka) 1043 (Friday, 10 March, A.D. 1122), this ruler made a gift of land to some Brāhmanas.² He was in all probability identical with the Gōkarṇa I of the Māmiḷlapalli epigraph cited above. Gōkarṇa was, in fact, the last of the three sons of Toṇḍa and his queen Mailāmbikā, and was a younger brother of the Udayāditya and Bhīma mentioned in another inscription at Pānugal dated Ś. 1046 Krōdhi (A.D. 1124).³ Toṇḍa was a scion of the Ēruva branch of the Telugu Chōḷa family and a vassal of the Western Chālukyan king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, as is shown by a record of his queen Mailamadēvi (Mailāmbikā) at Dākshārāmam dated Ś. 1043—C.V. 46 (A.D. 1121).⁴ If the identification of the Gōkarṇa of Prōla II's inscriptions with the Gōkarṇa I of the Māmiḷlapalli inscription suggested be accepted, it will follow as a corollary from this that the name of Gōkarṇa's son whom Prōla II established on his throne was Udayāditya. He was probably identical with the Udaya or Chōḍodaya mentioned in the Anumakoṇḍa and Gaṇapēśvaram inscriptions of Rudradēva and Gaṇapati respectively; for it is stated there that Prōla II pillaged his territory but subsequently restored it to him.⁵ Mēḍa, the ruler of Polavāsadēśa, was a powerful chief. Though he is said to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Prōla II and to have lost his kingdom as a consequence of this, he appears to have recovered it again; for he figures in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription among the enemies later subdued by Rudradēva. Taila, 'the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas', was the son of Vikramāditya VI. He is referred to as Kumāra or Yuvarāja Tailapadēva in a series of inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1110 to 1125; he was evidently at that time ruling over Kandūru-nāḍu and the region in its neighbourhood.⁶ Gōvindarāja is generally taken to have been the same person as the nephew, a sister's son, of Vikra-

¹ M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *Lithic Records in the Hyderabad State*.

² *Corpus*, No. 32.

³ *Tel. Ins. Mitr.*, 18. The text is badly deciphered and edited. The genealogy of the family given in the record is as follows:



⁴ *SII*, iv, 1216; *AR*, 335 of 1893.

⁵ *El*, iii, p. 89.

⁶ *Teliṅga Inscriptions Revised* (Unpublished), Nos. 44 (Ālavānipalle), 45 (Āvaṇcha), 55 (Nekkoṇḍa), 59 (Pārugaḷu (Nalgonda)).

māditya VI's famous Brāhman general Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka, who is mentioned in several inscriptions in Teliṅgāna and coastal Āndhra. He was a valiant soldier who together with his brother Lakshmaṇa rendered valuable assistance to his uncle in the subjugation of Vēṅgī and other maritime districts in A.D. 1118; he was ruling over Koṇḍapalli and its dependent territories in A.D. 1126.¹ It is, however, more likely that Prōla's opponent was not this Gōvindarāja but his namesake, the son of Bāgi Mādimayya Nāyaka, who was associated with Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Mākāmbā, in the government of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1133, under Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III.² Jagaddēva was, no doubt, the Paramāra prince of that name who governed Kollipāka Seven-Thousand under Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēśvara III.³ The antecedents of Guṇḍa of Mantrakūṭa are not known. He was also in all probability a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.

Neither the period nor the circumstances in which Prōla II waged war successfully on these chiefs are definitely known. It is not unlikely that he came into conflict with them when he attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself at their expense, taking advantage of the confusion prevalent in the Western Chālukyan dominion subsequent to their defeat in, and expulsion from, the coastal Āndhra country in A.D. 1135.

The defeat in the maritime Āndhra coupled with the death of Sōmēśvara III a few years later in A.D. 1139 let loose the latent forces of disintegration and the Chālukyan empire began to fall rapidly to pieces. In the general scramble for power, the feudatories looked after their own interests and each attempted to grab as much territory as he could lay hands upon. It must have been about this time that Prōla II rose to prominence, and throwing off the imperial yoke asserted his independence. His aggressions would not have been possible earlier, since at that time the imperial army in Vēṅgī and other places in the neighbourhood would have easily crushed him.

The extent of the territory acquired by him as a result of the wars described above cannot now be definitely ascertained. However, it can be confidently asserted that he made himself master of the districts lying between the rivers Gōdāvarī and Kṛishṇā. With the defeat of Guṇḍa, Manthena on the Gōdāvarī and its dependent territory must have passed into his hands; and the Telugu Chōla Udayāditya of Nalgoṇḍa-Pānugal, to whom after conquest he restored the kingdom, must have acknowledged his supremacy. In the absence of evidence, it is not possible to state how far his authority extended in the west. But it is certain that the victorious career of Prōla II met with a rude check. He invaded Vēṅgī towards the close of his reign, when he appears to have met his death in battle with the forces of a confederacy of the local chiefs who opposed his advance.

The Dākshārām inscription of Kōṭa Sūramamahādēvī, dated Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169), mentions *Kākati-Prōla-nirdahana* as one of the titles of her husband,

¹ *El*, xii, p. 261.

² *SII*, iv, 1094; *AR*, 243-B of 1893.

³ *Tel. Ins., Ch.*, 13, 42.

Kōṭa Chōḍayarāja, a fact which indicates that Kākati Prōla, evidently Prōla II, was slain by him.¹ Like Kōṭa Chōḍayarāja, Manma Satya and Mallidēva, the Haihaya chiefs of the Kōṇa country, and Mahādēvarāja, the Sūryavarṇśa chief of the Malaya country, also seem to have borne titles of the same kind. In the Piṭhāpuram Pillar inscription of the Haihaya chiefs mentioned above, dated Śaka 1117 (A.D. 1195),² the former is spoken of as *Prōḍa-kshitipāla-mauṣi-makuṣ-ālanikāra-simhāsanaḥ*, that is 'one whose throne was adorned by the crown on the head of Prōḍa-kshitipāla'. The editor of the inscription, Dr. E. Hultzsch, wrongly corrected Prōḍa to *Prauḍha* and construed it as an adjective qualifying *kshitipāla*. But the correction is hardly necessary. Prōḍa is obviously a variant of the name Prōla. Moreover, Dr. Hultzsch's correction does not quite suit the context. Kings are usually described as *vīras* and *śūras*, and seldom as *prauḍhas*. Therefore the title in the Piṭhāpuram Pillar inscription may be taken as referring to the defeat of Kākati Prōla at the hands of the Haihaya chiefs, Manma Satya and Mallidēva. Mahādēvarāja, the Malaya chief of the Solar race, and a vassal of the later Eastern Chālukyan ruler Malla Viśṇuvardhana of the Bēta-Vijayāditya line, who came to the throne while he was still a boy, bears a similar title, *Prōḍ-āri-baḍab-ānalaḥ*, 'the submarine fire to the enemy, viz. Prōḍa', in the Madras Museum plates of his overlord.³ Here also Prōḍa cannot be corrected to *Prauḍha*, for *Prauḍh-āri* would make little or no sense. It is better to take Prōḍa as a personal name denoting a particular king. This view is supported by the evidence of the Ēkāmranātha inscription of Gaṇapatidēva, in which his ancestor Prōḍarāja is said to have constructed a tank called *Jagatīkēśari*.⁴ Now the construction of a tank called *Jagatīkēśari* is ascribed in Gaṇapatidēva's Mōṭupalli inscription to Prōla II. It is therefore evident that Prōḍa and Prōla are identical. If, then, the Prōḍa mentioned in the Piṭhāpuram Pillar inscription and the Madras Museum Plates cited above is identical with Prōla II, it seems certain that he must have invaded the Vēṅgī country some time about A.D. 1150, and that he was opposed by the Kōṭa chief of Amarāvati, the Haihaya chiefs of Kōṇa-maṇḍala, and the Solar chiefs of Malaya, who were the vassals of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. He appears to have been defeated and slain during the course of this invasion.

The reign of Prōla II marks an important stage in the history of the Kākatiyas. He was a mighty warrior; he transformed the feudal fief which he inherited into a sovereign state by his military skill. Though he began his career as a small *māṇḍalika* in the eastern marches of the Chālukyan empire, he managed, by taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs which prevailed in the territories after the death of Sōmēśvara III, to throw off the imperial yoke and to carve out for himself an independent kingdom which was destined to grow under his successors into a powerful empire embracing the whole of the Āndhra country.

¹ *SII*, iv, 1242; *AR*, 331 of 1893. ² *EL*, iv, p. 91. ³ Cp. No. 10 of 1916-17. ⁴ *IA*, xxi, 197.

II

THE INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS

Kākati Rudradēva

(? A.D. 1150-1195/6)

PRŌLA II had five sons,¹ of whom only two, namely Rudradēva and Mahādēva, are generally mentioned in the inscriptions and literary works. The name of another, Rēpalli Duggarāja (Durgarāja), so called after his appanage, Rēpalli, is mentioned in an inscription at Dākshārāmam dated A.D. 1163.² The Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapāmbikā mentions Mādhava as the son of Prōla II.³ This is obviously a mistake for Mahādēva; for no other record mentions Mādhava and the fact that he is there spoken of as the father of Gaṇapati clearly shows that this Mādhava was none other than Mahādēva and that the variation in the name must be attributed to a scribal error. Nothing is known about the remaining two sons of Prōla II. Rudra may be assumed to have been the eldest of all the sons of Prōla II; for the Ēkāmranātha inscription of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva mentions Mahādēva as 'the first of the multitude of his younger brothers sprung from the race of the Sun as was the Pārijāta from the ocean'.⁴ This simile implies that Rudradēva had four younger brothers of whom Mahādēva was the eldest. Rudradēva was probably a grown-up prince at the time of his accession to the throne, since he seems to have participated in some of the wars of his father.

Rudradēva was a valiant fighter. He probably took part, as suggested above, in the campaigns conducted by his father, Prōla II, and assisted him to establish his independence and to maintain intact the principality bequeathed to him by his ancestors. After his accession to the throne he devoted all his energy and resources to safeguarding his independent status and to extending his dominion wherever possible. His political activities may therefore be said to have been directed to promoting the schemes of conquest designed by his father Prōla. In pursuance of this policy of aggrandizement Rudradēva had to wage wars on many chiefs. His achievements are described in his Anumakoṇḍa inscription,⁵ a lengthy document of great historical importance, which fully justifies the lavish praises of his prowess embodied in the records of his successors. It narrates the valiant deeds not only of Rudradēva, but also of his father, Prōla II. By the Śaka year 1084 (A.D. 1162), the date of this record, Rudradēva seems already to have vanquished a number of his enemies and to have transformed his petty principality into an extensive

¹ *LA*, xxi, pp. 197 ff.

² *AR*, 142 of 1913; *EL*, iii, p. 94.

³ *AR*, 26 of 1890; *LA*, xxi, pp. 122 and 197.

⁴ *SII*, iv, 1071; *AR*, 229 of 1893.

⁵ *LA*, xi, 9 ff.

kingdom. The Anumakoṇḍa record mentions the names of Ḍommarāja, Mēḍarāja, and Mailigidēva as opponents, whom he had overcome in battle. They seem to have been neighbouring princes whose dominions abutted upon Rudradēva's territories. A record of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ḍommarāja from Nagunūr in the Karimnagar district, dated in the Chālukya Vikrama year corresponding to the cyclic year Pramādi (Śaka year 1081—A.D. 1159),¹ mentions Mēḍarāja and Jagaddēva, and refers to a victory gained by them with an army of 80,000 over some enemy, not mentioned by name. It is not unlikely that this unnamed enemy was Rudradēva himself; and the record refers in all probability to an earlier phase of the struggle in which he was involved with these chiefs. However that may be, it is certain that Rudradēva was ultimately victorious; he put to flight Ḍommarāja, famous as a rider and cavalry commander, 'by hundreds of his shining arrows as Arjuna did Karṇa', and occupied 'his village and city having all excellences', which lay in the Karimnagar district on the frontier of his territory.

The identification of Rudradēva's other enemies, Mēḍarāja and Mailigidēva, is more difficult. A certain Mēḍarāja along with a Jagaddēva is mentioned in the Nagunūru record cited above. Whether he was in fact the Mēḍarāja who was defeated by Rudradēva, or another person of the same name, cannot, however, be definitely ascertained.

A Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, by name Ugravāḍi Mēḷarasa, born in the family of Mādhavavarman, the master of 8,000 elephants, eight crores of horses, and unnumbered masses of footsoldiers, &c., is mentioned in one of the inscriptions at Hanumakoṇḍa. He was probably a vassal of the Western Chālukyan king Vikramāditya VI. He figures among the benefactors of the Jain temple, Kadalalāya Basadi, built by Mailama, wife of Bēta, the minister of Prōla II, in the Chālukya Vikrama year 42, Hēmaḷambi, that is, in Śaka 1040 (A.D. 1118), when he bestowed on this foundation one *matṭar* of irrigated land at the head of the canal below the bund of Kūchikere belonging to Warangal included within his rule, and ten *matṭar* of miscellaneous land close to the same.² Mēḷarasa, it would seem, was at this time ruling the territory in the neighbourhood of Warangal as Prōla's subordinate. It is not unlikely that after Prōla's death he attempted to throw off the Kākatiya yoke and to assert his independence,³ but Rudradēva worsted him in battle and annexed the territory which he had governed to his own kingdom.

¹ *Teliṅgāna Inscriptions*, No. 17, p. 119.

² *Et*, ix, pp. 266 ff.

³ In the Book entitled '*Nizāmrāshīra pralambā*' (1926, p. 104) it is said that according to the Gōvindapuram record of Nāgādēvarāja, Mēḍarāja, a descendant of Mādhavavarman, was the ruler of the country between Kuruvatta in the Pākhāl *tāluk* of the Warangal district and the river Gōdāvari; he was a younger contemporary of Prōla II, and a patron of the Jain faith. His minister Nāgādēvarāja constructed a temple to Pārśvanātha (*Pārśvajintavarālaya*) at Gōvindapuram in the Pākhāl *tāluk*, and set up an inscription to record the event (see *Vēyirtambhālaguḍi Śāsanamu*, by Vidwan Kambhampati Appanna Sastri, p. 36).

The Gōvindapuram record of Nāgādēvarāja has not yet been published. However, since Mēḍarāja is said to have been born in the family of Mādhavavarman, it would seem that he was in fact the same person as Mēḷarasa of the Anumakoṇḍa record, the patron of the Kadalalāya Basadi.

The identity of Mailigidēva still remains a subject of controversy. Dr. Fleet, the editor of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, confesses his inability to fix his identity;¹ but Dr. Hultzsch believed that he was identical with the Yādava king Mallugi, the predecessor of Bhīllama;² this supposition, however, is untenable, since the name Mallugi cannot be considered, on philological grounds, as being a derivative of Mailigi. Whoever he may have been, there can be no doubt that he was a neighbour of Rudradēva. It is stated in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription that Rudradēva humbled the pride of Mailigidēva in battle and gained possession of the region of Polavāsa situated in the Jagatyala *tāluk* of the present Karimnagar district of the old Hyderabad State.³ The victories thus gained by Rudradēva over Dommarāja, Mēḍarāja, and Mailigidēva, all in the region to the north of Anumakoṇḍa, enabled him to extend his dominion right up to the banks of the Gōdāvarī.

Rudradēva then turned his attention to the south. The Anumakoṇḍa record mentions four kings Bhīma, Gōkarṇa, Chōḍōdaya, and Tailapa in this connexion. Gōkarṇa was killed by Bhīma; Chōḍōdaya died as a result of the 'bewilderment born of the fear produced by the prowess of Rudradēva'; and Tailapa 'with body completely overcome by dysentery' died from fear of Rudradēva. Then Bhīma enjoyed the kingship for a short time. He killed his brother by poisoning his food or otherwise while he was dining, and took his step-mother for his wife. To put an end to his misdeeds Rudradēva invaded his territories, when Bhīma fled to the forests with his mother, brothers, and wives. Rudradēva then burnt the city of Vardhamāna (Vardhamāna-nagarī) and subsequently the city of Chōḍōdaya, thought to be protected by the surrounding forests. After burning the latter fort and the woods around it he constructed a big tank in the midst of the fort and became 'the resort of the shining lotus (*padmā*) born of the milky ocean of the dynasty of Kandūr Odaya Chōḍa' (L. 107). Scholars like Dr. Hultzsch opined that 'Padmā has to be taken as the actual name of Chōḍōdaya's daughter, whom Rudra married for political reasons, though he had caused the death of her father and destroyed his city'.⁴

Rudradēva's war with Bhīma appears to have been the one event of outstanding importance which happened during the early years of his rule. The struggle between them is described at some length in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, no less than twelve out of the total number of fifty verses being devoted to a description of it. In recounting the causes of the war the author of the inscription enumerates first the atrocious crimes committed by Bhīma, which provoked Rudradēva to launch an attack on him. Bhīma's first evil deed was the capture and execution of a person called Gōkarṇa; he next appropriated the territories of two chiefs named Chōḍōdaya and Tailapa, both of whom are said to have died of the fear caused by Rudra's military successes. The confiscation of the territory belonging to Chōḍōdaya is not

¹ *IA*, xi, p. 11.² *IA*, xxi, p. 198.³ *IA*, xxi, p. 10.⁴ *EL*, iii, p. 83.

recorded in the inscription as explicitly as is that of Tailapa. A close examination of the account, however, leaves no room for doubt. The statement that Rudra, after the destruction of Vardhamāna, went in pursuit of Bhīma to Chōḍodaya's city, Kandūr, and burnt it, clearly indicates that some time before that incident it must have passed into Bhīma's hands. Had it not been then part of Bhīma's territories, Rudra would not have attacked and destroyed it. Moreover, the ruthless and villainous Bhīma had, as we know, murdered his excellent brother by poisoning his food, and had taken his step-mother (co-wife of his own mother) as his wife. These dreadful deeds, however, were actually but pretexts for Rudra's attack upon Bhīma. The real cause of the war was political rivalry. Bhīma gathered together a number of the petty chiefs around him, and proclaiming himself king, became Rudra's rival for the sovereignty over Teliṅgāṇa. Therefore, it became necessary for Rudra to declare war on Bhīma in order to humble him and to establish his own supremacy over the whole country.

The first important event of the war mentioned in the inscription is the burning of the city of Vardhamāna, that is Vaḍḍamān in the Mahbubnagar district, which appears to have been the capital of Bhīma. It is stated that Rudra, having taken 'three or four steps' in his march against Bhīma, offered the city of Vardhamāna as an oblation to the fire of his anger. Bhīma, unable to offer resistance, fled from his capital to the forest, accompanied by his mother, brothers, and wives, after abandoning his royal fortune. Rudra set out in pursuit of him and attacked Kandūr, the city of Udaya or Odaya Chōḍa, where apparently he had taken refuge. Rudra first cut down the forest, which formed, as it were, a protective barrier around the city, then set fire to it and destroyed the fort. He constructed in the midst of the city, evidently on the site where the fort had stood, a large and wonderful tank. He then appears to have married Padmā, the daughter of Kandūr Odaya Chōḍa. What happened to Bhīma, in pursuit of whom Rudra had come to Kandūr, is not definitely known. He seems to have perished either during Rudra's attack on Kandūr, or at some time subsequent to this; for it is stated in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription that 'those kings like Bhīma and others who dwelt between Kāñchī-maṇḍala and the Vindhya, and who came to be heard of by Rudradēva, became gods (i.e. died) at the very sight of him'.¹

The identity and antecedents of Bhīma and the three other chiefs Gōkarṇa, Chōḍodaya, and Tailapa, whose names are linked with his in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, are not disclosed in it. There is reason to believe that all of them with the exception of Tailapa were princes of the Telugu Chōḷa origin. Gōkarṇa is an unusual name, which, as pointed out already, was peculiar to the Kandūr branch of that family. It is met with, if at all, very rarely elsewhere. Thus Gōkarṇa may be said definitely to have been a scion of the Kandūr Telugu Chōḷa family. There is absolutely no room for doubt

¹ *Corpus* 3, v. 30.

about the family affiliations of Chōḍōdaya; his very name proclaims that he was a Telugu Chōḷa by birth. Bhīma also appears to have been a member of the same family. The brother whom he murdered by poisoning has generally been taken to be identical with Gōkarṇa, on the ground that the latter, in addition to bearing a characteristic Telugu Chōḷa name, also suffered death at Bhīma's hands. The identification is probably correct. It may therefore be assumed that Bhīma, like Gōkarṇa and Chōḍōdaya, was also a member of the Kandūr Telugu Chōḷa family. In fact the names Bhīma, Gōkarṇa, and Odaya or Udaya occur frequently in the inscriptions of the family, which are found in several places in the Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar districts of the old Hyderabad State over which they bore sway. The Pānugal inscription of Mailāmbikā dated Ś. 1046 (A.D. 1124), and the Māmiḷḷapalli inscription of Bhīma dated Viḷambi (Ś. 1100/A.D. 1178-9), furnish, as noticed earlier, genealogies comprising two and three generations respectively. The former, as stated above, mentions Toṇḍa-nṛipa, his queen Mailāmbikā, and their three sons, Udayāditya, Bhīma, and Gōkarṇa; and the latter refers to Gōkarṇa (I), his son Udayāditya, and Udayāditya's two sons, Bhīma and Gōkarṇa (II).¹ However, none of these, with the exception of Udayāditya of the Māmiḷḷapalli record, can be identified with any of the chiefs mentioned in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription; for the Udayāditya, Bhīma, and Gōkarṇa of the Pānugal epigraph flourished a generation too early to have been the contemporaries of Rudra. Since the Bhīma and the Gōkarṇa II of the Māmiḷḷapalli record are seen to have been ruling some fourteen years after the date of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, they could hardly have been the chiefs of the same name whose death is referred to therein. It is not improbable that Udayāditya, the father of these two princes, was a contemporary of Rudra; he may have been the Chōḍōdaya who, according to the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, died of terror in face of the military successes of Rudra, and whose daughter the latter subsequently married after burning his city. He is perhaps identical with Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kandūr Udaya Chōḍa Mahārāja of the lineage of Karikāla Chōḍa of the Solar race, who, according to an epigraph at Jeḍcherla in the Mahbubnagar district, dated Tuesday, Paushya ba 2, Chitrabhānu C.V. (mistake for Śaka) 1084 (Tuesday, 25 December, A.D. 1162), was then ruling the country in the neighbourhood.² Another record at Nēlakoṇḍapalli in the Warangal district, which records the construction of a sluice to the big tank of Koṇḍapalli by a certain *nāyaka* in the reign of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kandūr Udaya Chōḍa Mahārāja, on Māgha śu, Manmatha, Ś. 1097 (A.D. 1175), belongs to the reign of the same king.³ In that case Kandūr Udaya or Odaya Chōḍa Mahārāja must be considered to have

¹ See *ante*, pp. 381-2.

² *Tel. Ins. Mir.*, No. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 2. The reading 'Rudrayana' and the date Ś. 1047 in the text of the *Teliṅgāna Inscriptions* published by the Lakshmaṇarāya Pariśōdhaka Maṇḍali, Hyderabad, is faulty. The late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu revised the text with the help of estampages and corrected the mistakes.

been ruling between A.D. 1162 and 1175. This raises an interesting question. The Anumakoṇḍa inscription, it may be remembered, refers to the death of Chōḍodaya; but the Jeḍcherla and Nēlakoṇḍapalli records clearly show that he was ruling between A.D. 1163 and 1175. It is not easy to reconcile the conflicting evidence of these inscriptions. Either the Chōḍodaya of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription must have been a different person from his namesake of the Jeḍcherla and Nēlakoṇḍapalli records, or the statement of his death in the former is an unreliable anticipation. In view of the fact that the Jeḍcherla inscription is only twenty-six days earlier than that of Anumakoṇḍa, a period too short for all the events described therein to have taken place, the supposition that Chōḍodaya did not in fact die of the fear of Rudra as described in the inscription, but lived for several years after, having made peace with that chieftain by giving him his daughter in marriage, cannot altogether be avoided.¹

The identity of Tailapa is not definitely known. On account of the similarity of his name and the fact that he was a contemporary of the Western Chālukyan king Tailapa III, son of Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III, he has generally been taken as being identical with that monarch. It is not possible, however, to accept this identification; for the latest regnal year, according to the inscriptions of Tailapa III, is fifteen, corresponding to Ś. 1087 (A.D. 1165); but as the Tailapa of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription is said to have died of dysentery caused by the fear of Rudra in or before Ś. 1084 (A.D. 1162-3), he could not have been the same as the Western Chālukyan king. He was probably some other chief ruling in the neighbourhood of Bhīma's dominions whose identity is at present unknown.

The victories of Rudra over the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs, so eloquently described in his Anumakoṇḍa inscription, do not seem to have brought him fresh accessions of territory; for no record of Rudra has yet been found anywhere in the Nalgonda and the Mahbubnagar districts, the region which was under their sway; and the Nēlakoṇḍapalli and Māmiḷlapalli inscriptions of Oḍaya Chōḷa, Bhīma, and Gōkarṇa, which are later in date than the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, make no mention of any overlord to whom they owed allegiance. Taking these facts into consideration, it seems reasonable to suppose that Rudra's victories over the Telugu Chōḷas were not as complete as the language of the Anumakoṇḍa inscription would have us believe, and that the latter continued to rule over their ancestral territories independent of any outside authority.

Rudra appears to have devoted the rest of his reign to the conquest of the coastal region which lay between his kingdom and the sea. Like his father, he

¹ This is supported by the evidence of an unpublished record of Kākatī Gaṇapatiḍēva at Jamālāpuram, dated Ś. 1124 Duṣṭidubhi (A.D. 1202-3), which, while alluding to Rudradēva's war with Chōḍodaya, refers only to the defeat of the latter's general Arasālu and the destruction of his army, but not to his death.

seems to have regarded himself as the political successor of the Western Chālukyan emperors, the erstwhile overlords of his family, in the eastern provinces of their empire, and to have laid claim to the sovereignty over Vēṅgī and other parts of the coastal Āndhra country conquered by Vikramāditya, and ruled by him and by his son and successor Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III until A.D. 1133. Throughout the long period of his rule he made persistent efforts to reduce this coastal country whenever circumstances appeared favourable. Though no mention of the conquest of the maritime tracts or of the chiefs holding sway over them is made in his Anumakoṇḍa inscription, there is good reason to believe that he invaded Vēṅgī some time before A.D. 1162, the date of that inscription; for it is stated in the record that Rudra's kingdom extended in the east at that time as far as the sea. This claim is corroborated by the evidence of his inscription at Dākshārāmam dated A.D. 1158,¹ which registers the gift of a lamp to the temple of Bhīmēśvara by Inaṅgala Brahmi Redḍi, a *preḡgaḍa* or minister in the service of Rudradēva. The inscription does not, however, disclose the circumstances in which Rudra came to establish his authority over the Gōḍāvarī delta, though the manner of its dating seems to offer a clue. Brahmi Redḍi dated his inscription not in the regnal year of his master or simply in the Śaka year, as was the custom observed by Rudra elsewhere in his inscriptions, but in Ś. 1080 coupled with the 13th regnal year of the Chālukya-Chōla emperor Rājarāja II, the significance of which dating is still obscure. It may be remembered that the Chālukya-Chōlas, as Kulōttuṅga I and his successors are entitled by modern historians, were at this time still regarded as the overlords of Vēṅgī and the coastal Āndhra, and that their authority was widely recognized in the region, though their power was not felt effectively in every part of it. Rudra probably entered into an alliance with Rājarāja II, and having obtained the Gōḍāvarī delta as a fief from him, invaded the country with the object of avenging the previous defeat and death of his father at the hands of the Haihayas of Kōṇa and the Sūryavarṁśis of Malaya, and of reducing these clans to subjection. Another possibility is that Rudra invaded the Gōḍāvarī delta on his own account without any reference to the Chālukya-Chōla emperor, and following the custom that was obtaining in Dākshārāmam and its neighbourhood, dated his record in the Śaka as well as the regnal year of the reigning Chālukya-Chōla monarch. However this may be, it appears certain that Rudra led an expedition to the Gōḍāvarī delta and succeeded in imposing his authority over it. An inscription in the same place, set up by Rēpalli Duggarāja (Durgarāja), so called after the name of his fief, son of Anumakoṇḍa Prōla-nṛpati (Prōla II), obviously one of Rudra's younger brothers whom he had apparently placed in charge of the conquered territory, clearly shows that Rudra managed to keep his hold on it for a period of four or five years after its conquest until A.D. 1163.²

¹ *SII*, iv, 1107; *AR*, 252 of 1893.

² *SII*, iv, 1071; *AR*, 229 of 1893.

But Rudra's authority over the Gōdāvarī delta was soon challenged. The chiefs of Velanāḍu, who had been ruling in Vēṅgī and its neighbourhood as the vassals of the Chālukya-Chōlas since the days of Kulōttuṅga I, could not tolerate the existence of a powerful rival in this territory which they considered as their own. Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II, who was then governing the country, sent an army into the Gōdāvarī delta under his *pradhāni*, Dēvana-Preggaḍa, the son of Amṛitalūri Mañchirāju, with instructions to bring it under his control. Dēvana-Preggaḍa successfully accomplished the task entrusted to him; he first reduced the country bordering on the sea and established himself at Dākshārāmam in A.D. 1163;¹ next he advanced, in A.D. 1165, on the Haihayas of the Kōṇa country, and having vanquished them in battle compelled them to acknowledge the supremacy of his sovereign.² Though the provenance of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II and his subordinates shows that his rule over this region continued until at least A.D. 1181,³ Rudra does not seem to have left him in undisturbed possession of it, for an inscription in Dākshārāmam, which registers the gift of a lamp to the temple of Bhīmēśvara by Rudra's queen Dannamadēvī in the 23rd year of Rājarāja II (A.D. 1168), proves unmistakably that Rudra had, at that time, again invaded the country to re-establish his authority.⁴ This expedition, however, does not seem to have had any permanent result, since no further evidence of his rule is found in the Gōdāvarī delta in the years immediately following it.

The death of the Chālukya-Chōla emperor Rājarāja II in A.D. 1172 marks an important epoch in the history of the coastal Āndhra territories. He was the last monarch of his line who exercised real authority over his vassals in the Āndhra country and succeeded in checking their separatist tendencies. His successor Rājādhirāja II was a weak monarch whose authority was hardly recognized by his Āndhra feudatories. A scramble for power soon began, and the vassal chiefs were soon in conflict, each attempting to establish himself as an independent ruler. The most powerful of them all was no doubt Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa, the ruler of Velanāḍu, who quickly took advantage of this breakdown of the imperial power and soon made himself master of almost the whole of the maritime region.

The power of the Velanāḍu chiefs had now reached its zenith. Their territory extended in the south-west beyond Tripurāntakam in the Markapur *tāluk* of the Kurnool region; the western marches of their kingdom were guarded by the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi chiefs of Nādeṇḍla, who were subject to their authority. In the south, their rule extended as far as Darśi in the Nellore country; the tract comprising the Narasaraopeta and Vinukonda *tāluk*s of the present Guntur district was also included in their dominion. In the north

¹ *SII*, iv, 1086; *AR*, 238 of 1893.

² *SII*, iv, 1083; *AR*, 236 of 1893.

³ *SII*, iv, 1241, 1242, 1335, 1365, and 1366.

⁴ *SII*, iv, 1095; *AR*, 244 of 1893.

and north-east their sway was recognized probably as far as Sīmhāchalam in the Visakhapatnam district.

Rudra, who had himself similar designs on the coastal stretches, was by no means indifferent to the revolutionary changes that were taking place in the maritime provinces. But so long as Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II was supreme at Chandavōlu, he was perforce obliged to abandon for the time his schemes of aggression. Circumstances, however, soon took a turn in his favour. Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II died unexpectedly in A.D. 1181, and after his death the power of the Velanāṭi chiefs suffered a sudden eclipse, the causes of which are not definitely known. A tradition preserved in the *Paṇḍi-tārādhyā-charitra* of Pālkuriki Sōmanātha ascribes their fall to the outbreak of a civil war among the late king's heirs for the possession of the throne. Goṅka III, the son of Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa, probably perished during the fighting, and Prithvīśvara, his grandson, was then driven out of his native country. About the same time a fratricidal war broke out in Palnāḍu between the Haihaya prince Nalagāma and his brothers, in which several local chiefs, including the Durjayas of Velanāḍu, were involved. Nalagāma, according to the *Palnāḍivīrula-charitra*, a ballad ascribed to the famous poet Śrīnātha, which celebrates the valiant deeds of the Palnāḍu heroes, sought the help of Kākati Rudra, who no doubt readily responded to his call, since it seemed to give him an excellent opportunity to extend his power over that part of the coastal tract lying along the valley of the Kṛishṇā. He set out with a large army accompanied by the *nāyaks* of the Malyāla, Komaravelli, Vipparla and other families, the Nātavāḍis of Maḍapalli (near Manthana in the Warangal district) and other feudatories, and pushed through to the banks of the Kṛishṇā. However, he does not appear to have taken much interest in the Palnāṭi war, since he appears to have sent only one contingent of a thousand horsemen to assist his friend Nalagāma; rather did he employ his forces in subjugating the districts of Pennātavāḍi and Koṇḍa- or Kon-nātavāḍi-*vishayas* situated respectively on the northern and the southern banks of the river corresponding to the present Nandigama *tāluk* of the Krishna district, then ruled by the Kōṭa chiefs of Dharaṇikōṭa (known also as Dhānyavāṭi, Dannavāḍa, and Dannāḍa) who traced their descent from Harisimakṛishṇa and Dhanañjaya. These Kōṭas owed allegiance to the Chālukya-Chōḷa emperor and were closely allied to the chiefs of Velanāḍu to whom they were bound by marriage alliances. Bhīma II or Doḍḍa Bhīma, a son-in-law of the Velanāṭi Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa II, who was then ruling at Dharaṇikōṭa, led out his forces to oppose the advance of Rudra's armies. A terrible battle took place at Dharaṇikōṭa, in which Kāṭa, son of Sabba-sēnāni and Bollama of the Malyāla family, won a victory over the enemy and captured the city. Doḍḍa Bhīma seems to have met his death during the conflict at the hands of the chiefs of the Vipparla, Komaravelli, and Peṇpāla families, who apparently assumed the title *Doḍḍa-Bhīmani-śiraś-cchhēḍaka* to commemorate their achievement.

Rudra was highly pleased; and he honoured Kāṭa by bestowing on him the title of *Kōṣagelpāta* or the conqueror of Dharaṇikōṭa.¹ The power of the Kōṭas was broken, their capital fell into Rudra's hands, and their territory lay prostrate at his feet; but Rudra did not annex it to his kingdom. Believing that it would better serve his purpose to treat the vanquished enemy with kindness and consideration than to confiscate his possessions, he adopted a policy of conciliation, installed Kēta II, the son of Doḍḍa Bhīma, on his father's throne, and gave him back his ancestral territories. Kēta II reciprocated by becoming a loyal friend of Rudra and supported him during his campaign in the south. Having thus made himself master of the Kōṭa dominions, Rudra next proceeded against the territories of the Velanāḍu chiefs. He appears to have concentrated his efforts on the subjugation of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, who, as mentioned above, served the Velanāṭi princes as wardens of the western marches of their kingdom. Though the details of this campaign are lacking, it is certain that Rudra was successful. An inscription at Tripurāntakam dated A.D. 1185, registering his gift of the village of Rēvūru on the bank of the Kṛishṇā in Koṇḍapalli-nāḍu to the temple of the god Tripurāntaka Mahādēva of that place, shows clearly that he had penetrated far into the interior of the Velanāṭi kingdom and had brought Tripurāntakam under his sway.² The Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis would seem to have been completely obliterated as a family during the course of this campaign, since there is no further mention of them as a ruling family in the years which followed.

While Rudra was busily engaged in the subjugation of the Kōṭas and Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis in the south, important changes were taking place at the same time in the Gōḍāvarī delta to the east. On the death of the Chālukya-Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja II in A.D. 1172, Mallapadēva, the son of Vijayāditya III of the Bēta-Vijayāditya line of the later Eastern Chālukyan family, asserted his independence, and made himself master of Prōlu-nāḍu comprising portions of the Pihāpuram and Kākināḍa taluks of the E. Godavari district. How a petty chief like Mallapadēva succeeded in establishing his independence in defiance of the authority of the Velanāṭis, the representatives of the Chālukya-Chōḷa emperors, without some powerful support from outside, is not quite clear. Judging from the friendship which obviously existed between him and Kākatī Rudra in subsequent years, it is not improbable that the latter, who had been making great efforts since the time of his accession to bring the Gōḍāvarī delta under his control, lent him a helping hand. In any case matters came to a head about A.D. 1184, when Velanāṭi Pṛithvīśvara, who, as mentioned above, had lost his hold on his home territory, made his appearance in the Godavari district at the head of an army and attacked Mallapadēva. The latter, unable to oppose him single-handed, appealed to Rudradēva for help, and who, responding readily to the call, marched into

¹ *Corpus*, 8, v. 13.

² *SII*, x, 241; *AR*, 273 of 1905.

the Gōdāvarī valley with his army and joined him at Dākshārāmam, as shown by an epigraph found at that place, dated in the 5th regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnudevardhana, corresponding to Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1185-6).¹ Rudra's help did not, however, prove of much avail to Mallapadēva; for he seems to have been worsted in the fight and to have been driven from power; for the inscriptions of Prithviśvara leave no room for doubt that this prince became the master of Prōlū-nāḍu in A.D. 1185, and successfully held it until the time of his death.²

The history of the last decade of Rudra's reign is a blank; what happened between A.D. 1185-6, the date of the Tripurāntakam and Dākshārāmam inscriptions, and A.D. 1195-6, when he appears to have met with his death on the battlefield, is not known. However, it is certain that he came into conflict with the Sēuṇas of Dēvagiri in the last year of his reign. It has as yet proved impossible to ascertain the circumstances in which this conflict arose. Whether Rudra, in an attempt to expand his territory westwards, invaded the Sēuṇa kingdom, or whether it was the Sēuṇas who, hoping to curb his growing power, first attacked him, are questions which we are unable to answer for lack of information. However this may be, it is certain that Rudra suffered defeat and death in his encounter with the Sēuṇa army. The earliest reference to the Sēuṇa victory over the Kākatīya king is met with in the Pāṭṇa inscription dated in the time of Siṅghaṇa (A.D. 1210-47), in which it is stated that Siṅghaṇa's father Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I 'put an end to the pleasures of the beloved ones of the ladies of Āndhra'.³ This notice is amplified by Hēmādri, the Śrīkaraṇādhipa of Mahādēva, and of his nephew Rāmachandra, who states in the *Vratākhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* that Jaitrapāla 'assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground on the battlefield, and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of ladles in the form of weapons, offered a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of Rudra, the "Tillīṅgādhipa", the lord of the Tailīṅgas, and thus vanquished the three worlds'.⁴ Further references to Sēuṇa victories over the Teluṅga king are found in the inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa and his successors. They will be dealt with in another context, since there is reason to believe that they refer to a later incident in the history of the Kākatīyas.

An important event which took place during the last years of Rudra's reign must be noticed here. He founded near his capital Anumakoṇḍa, according to the *Śivayōgasāra* of Kolani Gaṇapatidēva, a new town called Ōrugallu, which was destined to become the chief city of the entire Āndhra country under his successors. How Rudra proceeded to build it is described in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription which belongs to the time of Gaṇapati. It

¹ *SII*, iv, 1155; *AR*, 288 of 1903. ² *SII*, iv, 1100; *AR*, 247 of 1893; *SII*, x, 211; *AR*, 97 of 1909.

³ *El*, II, pp. 338f. The inscription is undated. Though the grant registered in it was made probably in Ś. 1128 or Ś. 1129 (A.D. 1207), it may have been composed, according to its editor, 'in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, sometime after A.D. 1209-10', the date of the accession of Siṅghaṇa.

⁴ Bhandarkar, *The History of the Dekkan*, App. C, v. 4.

is stated that 'the towns which he razed to the ground were known (only) by the quarters which (he) founded in the city of Ūrugallu under their respective names, and peopled with their respective inhabitants'.¹

Rudradēva was a powerful king. He adhered strictly to the policy of territorial expansion planned by his father, and enlarged his original principality into an extensive kingdom which must be reckoned amongst the principal states of the early medieval Deccan. Rudra realized to a great extent the ambitions of his father. He built up a kingdom extending from the Gōdāvarī in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south. Although his efforts to conquer Vēṅgī and make the sea the eastern boundary of his dominions ended in failure, he yet paved the way for its subjugation by his successors by contracting diplomatic and marital alliances with the great feudatory families such as the Kōṭas and the Nātavādis. Rudra was assisted in his wars by a band of devoted *nāyakas* belonging to the families of the Cheraku, the Malyālas of Saṁkīśapura, and the Rēcherlas of Pillalamarri. Of these the Rēcherlas of Pillalamarri had served the Kākatīyas with devotion and fidelity for many generations since the time of Bēta I. Kāma, the son of Kāṭa, and Nāma, his grandson, were both in the service of Rudradēva as commanders of his armies. Kāṭa, son of Sabba and Āchama of the Malyāla family, was his general as well as his *pradhāni*. It was this same Kāṭa who reduced the Kōṭa chiefs to subjection and received from his sovereign the title of *Kōṭagelpāta* (conqueror of Kōṭa).

Ministers and officers of Rudradēva. Rudradēva was assisted in his wars by several feudatory chiefs. The services of the members of the Rēcherla, Malyāla, and Cheraku families have already been noticed above. Besides these the names of some of his ministers and officers are mentioned in the inscriptions. Among Rudradēva's ministers Gaṁgādhara, son of Gōvinda of the Vellaki family, may be mentioned first, as he appears to have stood high in the esteem of his sovereign. In an inscription set up by him at Karimnagar in the old Hyderabad State in Ś. 1092 (A.D. 1170) he gives a brief account of his own official career. First of all he attracted the attention of king Prōla II, who invited him to his court and took him into his service. 'King Prōla of well-known fame', says he, 'sent for me with great consideration,' because 'I was a lover of fierce battle and a man of upright character'; 'I could be considered to have known all arts', and possessed 'a group of qualities' 'praised by all men in the assemblies of the wise'. Therefore, he 'commanded me to attend to all necessary work in the (royal) palace'.² Gaṁgādhara seems to have discharged his official duties to the satisfaction of all, and especially of the crown prince Rudradēva; for, on the death of Prōla II, Rudradēva made Gaṁgādhara a minister of state, bestowed on him the *prittis* (lands) pertaining to that *niyōgam* (office), and presented to him a palanquin (*andalam*), white parasols, jewels, ointments, and clothes.³ Gaṁgādhara was a minister of pious inclinations. He

¹ *El*, iii, p. 90.

² *Corpus*, 56, v. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 15. The English rendering of this verse in the *Corpus* (p. 175) is faulty.

built several temples in the capital and other places in the kingdom, founded an *agrahāra* of the Brāhmins, and probably also was the benefactor who constructed a tank called Gaṅgachiya-*cheruvu* near the temple of Prasanna-Kēśava at Anumakoṇḍa.¹ Another minister of the crown of whom mention is made in the inscriptions was Malli Nāyaka, who made a gift to a temple at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district to acquire merit for his royal master. He held the important office of *tantrapāla* or war minister.² The *Sivayōgasāram* discloses the names of two other officers, Peda Mallana and China Mallana, sons of Nānagaurya of the Indulūri family, who held positions of great responsibility in the state. The former was the governor of the newly built capital of Ūrugallu and the latter the *peda-saṁprati* or chief accountant. These two officers deserve to be remembered; for their descendants rose to positions of high distinction under Rudradēva's successors, whom they served with steadfast loyalty and devotion.

Rudra was a patron of art and letters. Inheriting, as he did, through his ancestors the architectural tradition of the Western Chālukyas, the former overlords of his family, he delighted in building magnificent temples in his dominions, dedicated to the god Śiva to whose worship he was specially devoted. It is stated in the Gaṇapeśvaram inscription cited above that he built in the towns of the enemies whom he destroyed a number of celebrated temples called Rudrēśvarams, called of course after his own name. It is probable that the famous Thousand-Pillar temple (the *Vēyi-stambhāla-guḍi*) at Anumakoṇḍa, the presidium of which is known as Rudrēśvara, was also built by him. The king's example was followed in this respect by his ministers, his officers, and his nobles and their families. It was also customary for people to erect temples in groups of three (*trikūṭa*) dedicated to Śiva in the names of their relatives to perpetuate their memory and to acquire merit for them. These temples were generously endowed with donations of land, and permanent arrangements were made to carry on daily worship and the performance of Āgamic rites in them. Thus many splendid fanes built in the Chālukyan style rose all over the country, and as a consequence Teliōgāṇa became justly famous as a veritable land of temples.

Rudradēva was a great patron of learning; he subsidized men of letters and encouraged them to pursue their calling. In the Pillalamarri inscription of Nāmi Redḍi dated A.D. 1195 he is described as the resort and refuge of learned men, who regarded him with much affection.³ He was known, according to his Dākshārāmam inscription dated A.D. 1186, by the title *Vinaya-vibhūṣhaṇa* (he whose adornment is modesty).⁴ Indeed the authorship of a work on *rājanīti* called *Nītisāram* is sometimes ascribed to him on the authority of an apocryphal verse found in one of the manuscripts of

¹ *Corpus*, v. 21.

² *Ibid.*, 53.

³ *Ibid.*, 38, v. 3.

⁴ *SII*, iv, 1155. It is wrongly stated by the late Śrī Chilikūri Virabhadra Rao in his *History of the Age of the Kākatiya Kings* (p. 305) that Rudra had the title of *Vidyābhūṣhaṇa*.

Baddena's *Nītiśāstramuktāvalī*; but it is extremely doubtful whether this treatise was actually composed by him, since, in the verse of the *Nītiśāstramuktāvalī* cited above, Pratāparudra and not Rudra is said to have been its author.

Mahādēva

(A.D. 1195/6-98/9)

Rudra left no issue; and so after his death in the war with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, his younger brother Mahādēva ascended the throne, and ruled the kingdom for a short period of about three years. Only one single damaged and fragmentary record of his time has come to light so far, and this gives little or no information about the events of his reign.¹ As for the accounts of his rule embodied in the inscriptions of his successors, these are too vague and general to have much value for the historian, and offer practically no authentic information about his activities. The tradition preserved in the *Pratāpa-charitramu* represents him as a doughty warrior who invaded the Sēṇa kingdom and perished in an attack on Dēvagiri, the Sēṇa capital, while fighting seated on the back of an elephant.² This story is partly corroborated by the evidence of the Yenamadala inscription dated Ś. 1172 (A.D. 1249-50), in which it is stated that Mahādēva fell asleep in a great battle on the two temples of a female elephant and awoke to find himself reclining on the bosom of a celestial nymph.³ The contemporary and near contemporary inscriptions of the Sēṇa kings refer to victories won by them or their predecessors over a Teluṅga king. Their evidence, however, is not consistent. Whereas in some records of Siṅghaṇa he is spoken of as the uprooter of the water-lily, that is, the head of the Teluṅga king, the conqueror of the Teluṅga king, and the establisher subsequently of the Teluṅga king on his throne,⁴ the same acts are attributed in others not to Siṅghaṇa but to his father Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I. In the Bhawal inscription of Siṅghaṇa dated A.D. 1222-3 it is stated that Jaitrapāla, the ocean of compassion, made Gaṇapati, whose life had been spared in battle, the lord of the Āndhra country.⁵ According to the Paṭhan copper-plate grant of Rāmachandra, dated A.D. 1271, Jaitugi (Jaitrapāla) slew the king of Trikaṇṇa (an obvious mistake for Triliṅga due to confusion caused by the similarity of names) in battle, rescued Gaṇapati from his prison, and made him lord of the land.⁶ As no Teluṅga king either suffered death or began to rule during the time of Siṅghaṇa, the events referred to in the Sēṇa inscriptions cannot have taken place in his reign (A.D. 1210-47). Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1191, ruled until A.D. 1210; and during this

¹ *Corpus*, 15.

² *Pratāpa-charitramu* (Śaivagranthamāla, Watangal), pp. 40-41.

³ *El*, iii, p. 101.

⁴ *Fleet*: *DKD, Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, pp. 524-5; *EC*, viii; *Sb*, 135, 276.

⁵ *El*, iii, p. 111.

⁶ *IA*, xiv, p. 316; *El*, iii, p. 111.

period Rudra was killed, if we can depend upon the evidence of Hēmādri, in a battle with Jaitrapāla in A.D. 1196; Mahādēva, who succeeded him on the throne, lost his life in a battle with the Sēuṇas in A.D. 1199, and his son Gaṇapati succeeded him in the same year. It is therefore certain that the incidents mentioned in the inscriptions cited could only have taken place during the reign of Jaitugi I. It is not unlikely that Siṅghaṇa, as the heir apparent of his father, participated in the fight with the Kākatiyas and took an active part in effecting the release from prison and the restoration of Gaṇapati to his kingdom; and that perhaps was the reason for his assumption of the titles *Teluṅgarāya-sirah-kamal-ōtpātana* and *Teluṅgarāya-sthāpan-āchārya*.

The Sēuṇa inscriptions do not, however, throw any light on the identity of the Teluṅga king whose head was cut off by Jaitugi. As both Rudra and Mahādēva were killed by him in battle these records may be taken to refer to the death of either. The fact that, in almost all these epigraphs, the cutting off of the head of the Teluṅga king is coupled with the release of Gaṇapati from prison and his restoration to his kingdom, demands attention. It clearly indicates that the king who was slain was the immediate predecessor of Gaṇapati, that is, his father, Mahādēva. It is therefore more likely that Gaṇapati accompanied his father rather than his uncle to the battle. However this may be, there is no doubt that the short reign of Mahādēva ended in disaster, and that as a consequence the country was thrown into confusion.

Mahādēva had, besides his son Gaṇapati, two daughters, Mēlāmbikā or Mailamā and Kundāmbikā,¹ both of whom were given in marriage to the Natavāḍi chief Rudra, son of Buddha. The marriage of his two daughters with this Natavāḍi prince, Rudra, shows that Mahādēva adhered to the policy of friendship and intermarriage with the feudatory families initiated by his predecessor. Mahādēva was a staunch Śaiva by faith; he was a disciple of the sage Dhruvēśvara from whom he had learnt the *Dharma*. Though he had acquired, by the grace of the Lord of Gauri, the sovereignty of the earth, he is said to have 'cared not a straw for it, and to have become one completely engrossed in the worship of the lotus feet of the god Śiva'.² In spite, however, of his alleged indifference to worldly power and possessions, he showed no lack of interest in the protection of his kingdom, and never hesitated, when the call of duty came, to sacrifice his life in defence of it.

Gaṇapatidēva

(A.D. 1199-1261)

Gaṇapati's captivity. The death of Mahādēva and the captivity of Gaṇapati, his son and heir to the throne, at Dēvagiri, led to the outbreak of disorders in the kingdom. The nobles rose in revolt, and the rulers of the neighbouring

¹ *SII*, x, 254; *AR*, 204 of 1905; *The Kākatiya Samichika*, App. No. 14.

² *Corpus*, 13.

states invaded the country. Of the foreign invaders who appeared at this time, the names of only two, king Nāgati whose identity has otherwise not yet been established, and the Chōla emperor Kulōttuṅga III, are known. The latter, according to one of his inscriptions, 'subdued the Vaḍugus (Telugus) who were fierce in war and (thus) brought Vēṅgai-maṇḍalam under his sway'.¹ Kulōttuṅga III effected his entry into Warangal by lavish bribery and gifts of gold. But Rēcheṅṇa Rudra, the commander-in-chief of the previous ruler, saved the kingdom from disintegration. 'He forsooth cut off the head of a haughty feudatory, and set it up for public view, stuck upon the top of a lofty flag-staff, as a scarecrow to frighten the flocks of these wild beasts that are hostile kings.'² King Nāgati, threatened by the pennons fluttering from the lances of Rudra's army, speedily took to flight. Kulōttuṅga III evidently followed his example. 'When the fortune of the Kākati through error had set her foot among many sharp thorns, he (Rudra) himself by the might of his arm forcibly crushed and removed them and very firmly established her in security.'³ Rudra appears to have taken the reins of government into his own hands in the absence of his master; for the titles *Kākatiya-rājya-bhāra-dhaurēya* and *Kākati-rājya-samartha*⁴ associated with his name clearly show that he carried on the administration in the name of his lord and sovereign.

Gaṇapati was soon released from prison and sent back to rule his kingdom. Since his reign is usually reckoned as beginning in A.D. 1199, his incarceration cannot have lasted very long. The circumstances in which he was set free are not definitely known. The Sēuṇa inscriptions, no doubt, attribute his regaining of freedom to the compassion felt for him by the Yādava monarch Jaitrapāla. Sympathy and generosity may indeed have played their part, but political considerations must also have weighed with the Yādava in setting the youthful captive at liberty. He probably desired to secure himself against an attack from the east in the event of a conflict with the Hoysalas in the south. The aggressive policy of Ballāla II, who had already wrested from him a large part of the Northern Kaṇṇāṭaka, must have made him apprehensive regarding the safety of his southern frontier.

The reign of Gaṇapati, though it began under unfavourable circumstances, was destined to become one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the Āndhra country. Gaṇapati was an energetic monarch, and during his long reign of sixty-three years he brought under his sway by war or diplomacy almost the whole land inhabited by the Telugu-speaking peoples. The political disintegration which followed the dismemberment of the Western Chālukyan and Chōla empires rendered his task comparatively easy. The country was subjected to the authority of numerous petty chiefs engaged in constant internecine warfare for self-aggrandizement. The chiefs of Velanāḍu

¹ *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, 163, 166; K. A. Nilakaṇṭha Śāstrī, *Colas*, ii, 125, 133, 142.

² *HAS*, iii, v, 22.

³ *Ibid.* v, 24.

⁴ *AR*, 261 of 1893; *SII*, iv, 1117.

demand attention first. Although their power declined after the death of Chōḍa II about A.D. 1181, inscriptions at Dākshārāmam, Piṭhāpuram, and Śrīkūrmam indicate that Prithviśvara's authority over the northern portion of the maritime Āndhra country remained intact until the time of his death about A.D. 1210.¹ Some of the loyal subordinates of his family in the Divi island and its neighbourhood acknowledged his suzerainty and helped him in his wars,² though ruling their own fiefs as independent princes. A tradition preserved in the Telugu *Sinhāsana-dvātrīṃśika* of Gōparāju, a work composed in the early fifteenth century A.D., represents Prithviśvara as ruling from his ancestral capital Tsandavōlu in the Krishna district.³ The evidence of the inscriptions, as well as literary tradition, thus bears testimony to the continuance of the rule of the Velanāṭi family over part, if not the whole, of the coastal Āndhra country. Their authority, such as it was, must have been limited by the power of numerous autonomous or semi-autonomous petty feudal states which honeycombed the country. The chiefs of Kolanu or Sarasīpurī ruled over the region round the Kolair lake. The Chāgis of Guḍimeṭṭa held sway over parts of the Krishna tract in the interior, and the Nātavāḍis over the territory along the northern bank of the same river now included in the Kambhammet district of the old Hyderabad State. The Kōṭas, and the Telugu Chōḷas of Koṇidena, governed parts of the present Guṇṭur region and farther south lay the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore, comprising the Nellore and Cuddapah districts of the Āndhra Pradesh, and the major portion of the Chingleput district of the Madras State with the cities of Nellore and Kāñchī as alternate capitals. The petty chiefs of Ēruva, a small tract of territory at the junction of the Nellore, Guntur, and Kurnool districts, acknowledged the supremacy of the Nellore Chōḷas, whilst several minor principalities flourished in the Cuddapah and Kurnool marches. And in the north-east the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were supreme in parts of that country. Such was the political state of the Āndhra country at the moment when Gaṇapati at length took the reins of the government of the kingdom into his own hands.

Gaṇapati and Prithviśvara. The policy which he had to follow in dealing with these states had already been marked out by his predecessors. Both Prōla II and Rudra had cherished imperial designs; they desired, as we have pointed out above, to bring under their rule not only Teliṅgāna but also the coastal districts, and to establish their hegemony over the whole of the Āndhra country. Though they were completely successful in reducing Teliṅgāna, yet their attempts to expand their dominion towards the south and the east met

¹ EI, iv, pp. 32 ff.; *SII*, v, 1100; *Mark. MSS.* 15-6-26; *Elliot's Collections*, p. 133, No. 55; *AR*, 370-B of 1896; *SII*, v, 1254.

² EI, iii, No. 15, v, 30, p. 87:

'Chōḍa-Prithvīa-bhūpārya chatur-āśa-jayāvahāḥ
abhūvan-bāhu-vīryyēṇa chaturāṣṭha-bhaṭa-puṃgavāḥ.'

³ *Bhārati*, xxii, part 1, p. 546.

with failure, owing largely to the opposition of the Velanāṭi chiefs who were then ruling the maritime tracts as the nominal representatives of the Chālukya-Chōḷa emperors in the south. The power of the Velanāṭi chiefs, however, declined after the death of Chōḷa II about A.D. 1181, and Pṛithvīśvara, Chōḷa II's grandson, appears at that time to have exercised some sort of authority over his ancestral kingdom; but he was not strong enough to check the turbulence of the nobility or to stem the forces of disintegration. Gaṇapati seized his opportunity and invaded the coastal districts with strong forces in the year A.D. 1201, accompanied by all the subordinate chiefs whom he could muster, such as the Kōṭas, Nātavāḍis, and Malyālas. He first attacked Bezvada which stood on the eastern frontier of the Kākatiya kingdom. An inscription of the Nātavāḍi prince, Vakkāḍimalla Rudra, found in the Kana-kadurga-*maṇḍapa* at the foot of the Indrakila hill and dated A.D. 1201, indicates the presence of Nātavāḍi troops, and presumably also those of the Kākatiyas, in the city at that time.¹ Bezvada was soon captured, and the invaders proceeded eastwards to the island of Dīvi, near the mouth of the Kṛishṇā, then the headquarters of the Ayya chiefs, who held sway over the fertile tracts of the delta. These Ayya chiefs did not submit without stubborn resistance. Trusting to the strong fortifications of their island fortress, they stoutly opposed the advance of the invaders but were finally obliged to surrender and to see their rich and beautiful capital plundered by the enemy. In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by the Malyāla chief Chaunḍa, Gaṇapati conferred on him, as stated in the Koṇḍiparti inscription dated Śaka 1125 (A.D. 1203), the title of *Dvīpī-lunītāka*, or *Dīvi-chūrakāra*, that is 'the plunderer of the island of Dvīpī or Dīvi'.² Gaṇapati, however, did not annex the conquered territory to his kingdom, for he was an astute politician, and understood that by adopting a policy of conciliation he would be able to build up his power on permanent foundations. He therefore dealt leniently with the vanquished Ayya chiefs; he not only restored their possessions but contracted marital relations with them by marrying Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two daughters of Ayya Pina Chōḍi, and took their brother Jāya or Jāyapa into his service. It is not improbable that as a consequence of these victories not only Dīvi but also the whole of Velanāḍu, as is in fact stated in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription dated A.D. 1211, fell into the hands of Gaṇapati at this time.³

Although Pṛithvīśvara was regarded, at least in name, as the ruler of the coastal region, his authority, as has already been stated, was confined to a part of it. The provenance of his various inscriptions is proof that only the territory between Dākshārāmam in the East Godavari district to Śrīkūrmam in the Śrīkakulam district was actually under his sway. What happened in the

¹ *El*, vi, No. 15, p. 159.

² *Corpus*, Nos. 8 (v. 55) and 9, v. 53. Dr. P. Srinivasachar's translation (*Corpus*, p. 50) 'even in heaven as *Cūrakāra*' is absurd.

³ *El*, iii, p. 91.

years immediately following Gaṇapati's conquest of Dīvi is not quite clear. Pṛithviśvara probably led an expedition to recover Dīvi and other territories conquered by Gaṇapati, but met with disaster. In the contemporary Telugu literature and inscriptions it is said that as a young man Tikka, the Telugu Chōḷa king of Nellore, played ball with the head of Pṛithviśvara on the field of battle.¹ Others besides Chōḷa Tikka also take credit for this achievement. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ballaya Chōḷa, probably of Kammanāḍu, and the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati, both lay claim separately to the same deed. Each of these is reported to have treated the head of Pṛithviśvara even as Tikka is said to have done, after having themselves slain him.² It is evident that Gaṇapati and the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs, Tikka and Ballaya, fought side by side against Pṛithviśvara and killed him. How they came to join one another and make common cause against Pṛithviśvara is not known. It is not improbable that, as stated above, he invaded the coastal Āndhra, that Gaṇapati and the two Telugu Chōḷa princes, who were either that prince's feudatories or else his allies, opposed his advance, and that in the engagement which followed, Pṛithviśvara was killed. With his death the power of the Velanāṭi kings came to an end and their territory passed into the hands of the Kākatiya monarch.

Kākatiyas in the South. Gaṇapati began to interest himself in the affairs of the southern kingdoms very early in his reign. The Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya-sēnāpati dated Ś. 1135 (A.D. 1213) alludes to an expedition against the kings of the southern region which Gaṇapati had undertaken on an earlier occasion.³ The conquest of the southern kings and the expansion of the Kākatiya power in that direction were the direct outcome of his alliance with the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore, who had established themselves there during the first half of the twelfth century A.D. Nalla Siddhi had become the master of a compact state comprising the modern Nellore, Cuddapah, and Chingleput districts together with the prosperous cities of Nellore or Vikramasimhapura and Kāñchī which served him as alternate capitals. The successors of Nalla Siddhi, taking advantage of the weakness of Rājādhirāja II, seem to have asserted their independence. Very little is known about the events of the reigns of Bēta I and Eṇṇa Siddhi who succeeded him on the throne. The latter had three sons, Manuma Siddhi I, Bēta II, and Tammu Siddhi. Of these the eldest, Manuma Siddhi I, followed him on the throne. During the reign of Manuma Siddhi I, father of Chōḷa Tikka I, Kulōttuṅga III invaded the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom in order to bring it back under his suzerainty. As the inscriptions dated in his third regnal year (A.D. 1180) are found in Kāñchī, Kālahasti, and Nandalūr,⁴ all then included in the kingdom of Nellore, the campaign against the kings of the North and the entry into the city of

¹ Tikkaṇa Sōmayāji, *Nirvaṇan-Ōttara Rāmāyaṇam*, 1. 32; Kētana, *Dalakumāra-charitram*, 1. 16.

² *JII*, vi, 166; *AR* 206 of 1897, Bidar inscription of Rudrāmbā. See *Summary of Papers*, XVth Session of All India Oriental Conference, Bombay.

³ *EL*, v, p. 149.

⁴ *AR*, 403 of 1919, 195 of 1892, 386 of 1907.

Kāñchī must have taken place at this time. It was obviously directed against Manuma Siddhi I, who seems to have forfeited his throne as a consequence of his defeat. The victorious Chōla monarch entrusted the kingdom to Manuma Siddhi's younger brother Nalla Siddhi and returned home in triumph. Inscriptions of Nalla Siddhi ranging in date from A.D. 1187 to 1204, found scattered in various localities within the Nellore kingdom, show that he remained loyal to his suzerain.¹ Subsequently government passed into the hands of his younger brother Tammu Siddhi, who seems to have usurped the throne and held it until A.D. 1207-8. Tikka, the son of Manuma Siddhi I, who considered himself to be the rightful heir to the throne, solicited Gaṇapati's help to regain his patrimony. As already mentioned, he joined forces with Gaṇapati who was then waging war on the Velanāṭi king Pṛithvīśvara, and helped him to slay the latter in battle. In return for this help, Gaṇapati, after reducing Velanāṇḍu to submission, marched against Nellore, and having put Tammu Siddhi and his supporters to flight,² installed Tikka on the throne of his ancestral kingdom and returned home, as stated in the Chēbrōlu inscription cited above, by way of Tāmrapurī.

Tikka, whom Gaṇapati had installed on the throne of Nellore, was indeed an able and warlike prince; but owing to the aggressions of powerful neighbours he was not infrequently hard put to it to defend his frontiers and preserve the integrity of his kingdom. It was probably for this reason that he propitiated Kulōttuṅga III by acknowledging his supremacy,³ though he had himself come to power with the help of the Kākatiya monarch by ousting his uncle, who was himself a loyal feudatory of the Chōla emperor. Tikka had to face, early in his reign, a Sēuṇa invasion which threatened to destroy his power; following this he lost Kāñchī and his other possessions in the Tamil country as a result of the political disorders prevailing there, though he acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga III, and kept on friendly relations with him. The total absence of any inscriptions of his between A.D. 1215 and 1228 seems to indicate that during these years he had again been driven from the throne. Tikka, according to contemporary Telugu literature and the Telugu Chōla inscriptions, is said to have vanquished his enemies single-handed by his own efforts without any help from allies; defeated the Sēuṇa army in the battle fought at Kurumulūr in the Cuddapah district, and made prisoners of all their horsemen.⁴ There is reason to believe, however, that Tikka actually owed his success, at least in part, if not wholly, to the help sent to him by Gaṇapati. In an inscription of Maṭṭevāḍa in the Warangal district, dated A.D. 1228, Gaṇapati is said to have plundered a Chōla capital which was in all probability Kāñchī.⁵ A more explicit reference to his achievements in this direction is furnished by the Gaṇapēśvaram

¹ *NI*, N, 40, 85; *AR*, 317 of 1929, 198 of 1892, 601 of 1907, 197 of 1894, 578 of 1907.

² *EL*, vii, pp. 123, 149.

⁴ *Nir-Utta*, i, 33; *AR*, 446 of 1920; *ARE*, 1920, ii, para. 55.

³ *NI*, R, 8.

⁵ *Corpus*, 10.

epigraph of Jāya-*sēnāpati* dated A.D. 1231, in which it is stated that Gaṇapati, having easily subdued the Chōḷa, the Kālīṅga, the Sēuṇa, the Brīhat-Karṇāṭaka, and the Lāṭa . . . made the whole country of Velanāṇḍu his own together with Dvīpa.¹ It may be noted that all the kings mentioned here, excepting the Lāṭa, were rulers of South Indian kingdoms. Evidently Tikka had to face a combination of the kings mentioned above; and he naturally seems to have appealed to his old friend for help. It was under these circumstances that Gaṇapati proceeded to the south at the head of his army and having vanquished and driven out the associated kings he re-established Tikka at Nellore and Kāñchi. Tikka appears to have appointed on this occasion the Kāyastha Gaṅgaya Sāhini, a brother-in-law of Āmbadeva I, one of Gaṇapati's vassals, as the Governor of Upper-Pākanāḍu to strengthen his position in the interior of his kingdom. Tikka's troubles, however, were by no means at an end. His interests clashed with those of the Hoysalas, and he was soon involved in a war with them.

The statement of Tikkana Sōmayāji in the introduction to his *Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyaṇam* that Tikka by inflicting a defeat on Karṇāṭa Sōmēśvara established his own power, and having without difficulty restored the Chōḷa to his throne, assumed his (Sōmēśvara's) title of *Chōḷa-sthāpan-āchārya* or 'the establisher of Chōḷa', shows clearly that he had embarked on the war on behalf of the Chōḷa emperor Rājārāja III. The details of this war are not known, but it is clear that Tikka marched to the south at the head of his army and killed Narasiṃha II in battle at Jambai in A.D. 1239, defeated in the next year Narasiṃha's son Sōmēśvara who had attacked him to avenge the death of his father, and assumed the title of *Chōḷa-sthāpan-āchārya*, which he bore thereafter.² We have at present no information to show whether Tikka received any help from Gaṇapati in his war on the Hoysalas. It is not, however, unlikely that Gaṇapati took part in this conflict also; for the Hoysalas, who were then in the heyday of their power, could hardly have been defeated by the unaided efforts of a minor chief like Tikka. Of this, however, there is as yet no evidence and in default of further intelligence the entire credit for the victory must be ascribed to the prowess of Tikka himself.

Kālīṅga Expedition. After his victory over Pṛithvīśvara, Gaṇapati naturally desired to bring the latter's possessions in Kālīṅga under his rule. He therefore sent an army into that country to reduce it to subjection. The conquest of the coastal districts to the east of Warangal, including the powerful principality of Kolanu (Sarasi- or Kamalākarapuri) as well as that of Kālīṅga, was effected, according to the *Śivayōgasāra*, a fifteenth-century treatise on Vira-Śaiva theology, in the course of a single campaign under the command of Indulūri Sōma Pradhāni, one of the ministers of Gaṇapati.³ The available

¹ *EI*, iii, p. 91.

² *AR*, 439 of 1937-38; *ARE*, 1937-38, ii, para. 42; *EC*, vi, Kd, 100; *Nir-Utta*, 1, 33.

³ *The Kālīṅga Samichika*, p. 382.

epigraphic evidence does not lend colour to this account. The Kākatiya conquest of the coastal Āndhra and Kālīṅga appears, on the contrary, to have been effected piecemeal. Kolanu did not, as a matter of fact, come under the Kākatiya power until A.D. 1231, several years after Gaṇapati's invasion of Kālīṅga. Bhīma, the Telugu Chōḷa chief of Ēruva, who must have been a contemporary of Gaṇapati, appears to have joined the expedition; for in a verse in the Tāḷa-Prodduṭūru inscription of Jagatāpi Gaṅgadēva dated Ś. 1244 (A.D. 1322-3), it is stated that Bhīma conquered several places situated in Vēṅgī, Orissa, and the Bastar State in the Madhya Pradesh.¹ Bhīma was a petty chief who could scarcely have carried out all these successful raids entirely with his own resources. He must have joined, like other nobles and soldiers of fortune, the Kākatiya army, and have participated in Gaṇapati's campaigns in the districts mentioned above. Besides these, Rājanāyaka, the commander of the Rēcheṇḍas, accompanied the expedition and distinguished himself during the campaign.²

The expedition probably set out from some base on the banks of the Gōdāvarī and having entered Kālīṅga, conquered the Māḍiyas and the Twelve Manniyas, that is, the country extending as far as the frontiers of the present Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Tekkali was captured, and a great battle was fought at Bokkera in the Aska *tāluk* of the Ganjam district, in which a famous warrior who bore the title of Gōdhumarāṭi was killed with all his followers.³ Another engagement took place near Udayagiri in the Pedakimiḍi Agency; Paḍiyarāya, the ruler of the place, was put to flight, and the fort was taken.⁴ Gōdhumarāṭi and Paḍiyarāya have not yet been identified. It is not unlikely that they were subordinates of the Eastern Gaṅga king, Rājarāja III, who was ruling over Kālīṅga at this time. The Kākatiya army next marched into Bastar, reduced Chakrakōṭa, and crossing the Gōdāvarī took possession of Manthena on the south bank of the river;⁵ and having thus completed the conquest of the hill tracts, the army finally returned in triumph to Dākshārāmam, where Rājanāyaka, the commander of the Rēcheṇḍa forces, endowed, as a thank-offering, a perpetual lamp in the temple of the god Bhīmēśvara, on Sunday, Vaiśākha, śu 11, Ś. 1134 (29 April, A.D. 1212).⁶

Gaṇapati's expedition against Kālīṅga was no doubt a brilliant demonstration of his military strength; but it produced no material results. No trace of the Kākatiya rule has so far been discovered to the north of Dākshārāmam. The Eastern Gaṅgas with whom Gaṇapati's army must have come into conflict during the expedition soon asserted their authority, as will be shown immediately, and shook off all traces of his expedition against them.

¹ *Bhārati*, xv, part i, pp. 143 ff.

² *HAS*, No. 3, p. 18; *SII*, iv, 117; *AR*, 261 of 1893.

³ A certain Vairi-Gōdhūmagharatta is mentioned in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription as an enemy of Jāyapa (*EL*, iii, No. 15, v. 41); but the identity of this chief and the occasion when he was defeated by Jāyapa are unfortunately not known.

⁴ *HAS*, No. 3, p. 18.

⁵ *Bhārati*, xv, part i, pp. 143 ff.

⁶ *SII*, iv, 1117 (*AR*, 261 of 1893).

Kammanāḍu. The affairs of Kammanāḍu demanded immediate attention. Some of the chiefs in the district, most probably the Telugu Chōlas of Konidena, appear to have defied Gaṇapati's authority and begun to rule as independent princes. Ōpili Siddhi, a scion of the Pottapi branch of the Telugu Chōla family, was commissioned by Gaṇapati to reduce them to obedience and to bring the entire district under his sway. Ōpili Siddhi accomplished the task to the entire satisfaction of his master and obtained the governorship of the territory from him as a reward for his services.¹ The Chakranārāyaṇa princes who were ruling over Addaṅki and its neighbourhood seem to have been conquered about the same time. Though direct proof of this is lacking, the provenance of Gaṇapati's numerous inscriptions leaves no room for doubt that this region also passed into his hands before A.D. 1217-18.²

Eastern Gaṅga Incursion. Rājārāja III, who was ruling in Kaliṅga at the time of Gaṇapati's invasion, died soon afterwards. His son Anaṅga (Aniyaṅka) Bhīma III, who succeeded him in A.D. 1211, freed his country from the Kākatiya yoke, and penetrated into Gaṇapati's territories as far west as the frontier of Vēṅgī before his 8th year (A.D. 1217). In an inscription at Dākṣhārāmam dated in that year he claims to have already effected the deliverance of the *Trayī-vasundharā*, that is, the Trikaḷiṅga country.³ Anaṅga Bhīma III was an ambitious monarch; he was not satisfied with the expulsion of the invaders from his native country but was desirous of effecting the conquest of the fertile land of Vēṅgī. Circumstances do not seem to have favoured the immediate prosecution of his designs. He had therefore to bide his time, awaiting a suitable opportunity for launching an expedition against that country.

Conquest of Kolanu. It may be noted here that Vēṅgī, or at least a large part of it, remained independent until A.D. 1230 under the Kolanu chiefs who had their headquarters at Kolanu or Sarasīpurī. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kolani Kēśava-dēva, who came to the throne in A.D. 1192, held sway over the country for thirty-six years until A.D. 1228.⁴ It was probably after the death of that chief that Aniyaṅka Bhīma III, considering that the time was now propitious for realizing his long cherished desire, resolved to attempt the subjugation of Vēṅgī. The Kākatiya armies were at that time busy in the south waging war against the Hoysalas and other southern rulers on behalf of the Telugu Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore. In order to ensure the success of his enterprise, Aniyaṅka Bhīma appears to have espoused the cause of the Velanāṭi chiefs Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa and Goṅka, descendants of Velanāṭi Prithviśvara, and to have dispatched his army to effect the final conquest of Vēṅgī. Jesrājaka, the son of Khaḍgasimha, the commander-in-chief of his

¹ *SII*, vi, 628 (*AR*, 183 of 1899).

² *NI*, ii, O. 17, 43, iii, O. 139.

³ *SII*, iv, 1329, *AR*, 407 of 1893.

⁴ *SII*, iv, 181, *AR*, 531 of 1893; 167, *AR*, 527 of 1893; 175, *AR*, 529 of 1893; X. 262, *AR*, 723 of 1930; 268, *AR*, 735 of 1920; IV. 187, *AR*, 532 A of 1893.

forces, arrived in A.D. 1230 at Dākshārāmam, where he busied himself with carrying out repairs to the temple of the god Bhīmēśvara. His arrival at Dākshārāmam was in fact the prelude to the outbreak of the war; and during the next three years he was fully engaged in accomplishing his purpose.¹

Gaṇapati did not remain indifferent to the aggressive activities of the Kāliṅga king. As soon as he had installed Tikka in Kāñchī in A.D. 1228, he recalled his army from the south and concerted measures for the expulsion of the Kāliṅgas from Vēṅgī and for bringing that country under his control. He dispatched an army under Indulūri Sōma Pradhāni, and Ēruva Bhīma, Kālapa Nāyaka, and Malyāla Hēmādri Redḍi who seem to have accompanied him, rendered him valuable assistance. A study of the find-sites of the Kākatiya inscriptions shows that the process of the conquest began as early as A.D. 1231. An epigraph of Gaṇapati engraved on a pillar in the temple of Pālīśvara at Iragavaram in the West Godavari district and dated A.D. 1231 shows that Kolanu was conquered by him in that year.² Velanāṭi Goṅka, who suffered a defeat at the hands of Malyāla Hēmādri Redḍi, took to flight.³ Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa appears to have surrendered at discretion; for Kālapa Nāyaka, who, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1254, was appointed governor of Vēṅgī, claims to have been the saviour of Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa.⁴ What happened after this is not known. The death of Anaṅga Bhīma III during the course of that year, or early in the next, led perhaps to the suspension of hostilities.

The Eastern Gaṅga attacks on the Kākatiya dominions did not, however, cease with Anaṅga Bhīma's death; for his son and successor, Narasimha I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1238, followed his father's aggressive policy. In the *Vallabhābhyaṇḍayam*, a late Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit *Śrīkākula-Māhātmyam*, the *sthala-purāṇam* of Śrīkākulam in the Krishna district, it is stated that Narasimha sent a military expedition against Kāñchī under the command of his foster brother, Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla, and that the latter halted at Śrīkākolanu during his march to erect a temple to the god Telugu Vallabha (Āndhra Vishṇu), and thence proceeded to Kāñchī, where after defeating his enemies and exacting tribute from them he set up a pillar of victory describing his exploits and then returned home in triumph.⁵ No record of Anantapāla has so far been discovered; therefore, the information furnished by the *sthala-purāṇam* cannot be verified at present.

Gaṇapati, who had been preoccupied with the affairs of the western Āndhra country at the time of Narasimha's invasion, having settled these to his satisfaction, sent his army across the Gōdāvari, and attacked the Eastern Gaṅga territories on the northern side of that river. Not much is known about

¹ *AR*, 430, of 1893; *SII*, iv, 1252, *AR*, 357 *A* of 1893.

² This inscription which has been copied by Mr. M. Somaśekhara Sarma remains yet to be published.

³ *SII*, iv, 1333, *AR*, 283 of 1905.

⁴ *SII*, vi, 602, *AR*, 160 of 1899. *Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra-Chōḍa-nistāraka*.

⁵ Madras University, Āndhra Granthamāla, No. 8, pp. 63-65, 83-84.

this invasion, since the information available on the subject is extremely scanty. The Nandalūr inscription of Manuma Siddhi II dated A.D. 1257-8 merely alludes to it. It is stated therein that Manuma Siddhi II, desirous of acquiring the friendship of Gaṇapati, joined him with his forces on the banks of the Gōdāvarī where he fought a great battle with the Kālīṅgas and forced them to retreat into their own country.¹ It must have been on this occasion that Paḍikamu Boppadēva of the Chāḷukyan family, who was at that time *paṭṭa-sāhiṇi* and *sakalasēnādhipati* in the service of Gaṇapatidēva, slew in battle on the Gōdāvarī Goṇṭūri Nāgadēva,² a prince whose estate lay on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. Inscriptions show that the Goṇṭūri chiefs Nāgadēva and Nārāyaṇadēva were ruling somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bezvada at the time of Narasiṃha's invasion.³ They probably joined him and made common cause with him against Gaṇapati; but they must have shared his defeat and probably lost their possessions in consequence. As a result of this victory the Kākatiya power remained undisturbed in the Gōdāvarī valley until the end of Gaṇapati's reign.

Gaṇapati's Southern Expedition. The state of affairs in the south underwent a sudden change with the death of Tikka in A.D. 1248. The kingdom of Nellore was plunged into anarchy. Gaṇapati was soon called upon to intervene and to restore peace and order. On the death of Tikka the succession to the throne of Nellore was in dispute. The principal claimants were Tikka's son Manuma Siddhi II and a certain Vijaya or Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, a prince whose relationship with the Nellore branch of the Telugu Chōḷa royal family is uncertain. On the death of Tikka, Vijaya seized the Chingleput and North Arcot districts then included in the kingdom of Nellore, leaving only the northern parts of it, comprising the present Nellore and Cuddapah districts, in the possession of his rival. To strengthen his position he then entered into an alliance with the kings of Drāviḍa and Karṇāṭaka. The former was no doubt the Chōḷa monarch, Rājarāja III or his co-regent Rājendra III, who had been recognized as heir apparent to the Chōḷa throne in A.D. 1246 and had since then been virtual ruler of all the Chōḷa dominions. The Karṇāṭaka was certainly Vīra Sōmēśvara (A.D. 1234-5-60). Though he was assisted in the administration of his Karṇāṭaka and Tamil possessions by his two sons Narasiṃha III and Vīra Rāmanātha respectively, he yet wielded supreme power over his entire kingdom until the very end of his reign. Sōmēśvara must have welcomed the proffered alliance with Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, since it gave him an opportunity to re-establish his hegemony over Conjeevaram and its neighbourhood. Having thus strengthened himself, Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla appears to have made an attempt to extend his authority northwards

¹ AR, 580 of 1907.

Yah-sāhāyāni vidhitrūḥ Gaṇapati-nṛpatēḥ svācchayā saṃgarāgrā

Gōdāvaryāni saritī nṛpatēḥ charma-yashīyā nirṛitā

Kālīṅgam 1901 Kālīṅgān-abhimukham-akarōd-ika-vīrai-tadānīm

² JII, x, 398; AR, 194 of 1905.

³ JII, iv, 715, 755, 763.

into the Nellore district.¹ At the same time a rebellion, headed by *Paḍihāris* Bayyana and Tikkana, broke out in Nellore against Manuma Siddhi II, who was, as a consequence, driven from his capital.² Takkarasa Gaṅga, better known by his title Rakkasa Gaṅga, a scion of the Kalukaḍa branch of the Vaidumba family, attacked Manuma Siddhi's territory in the Cuddapah district and having defeated Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi, the commander of Manuma's forces, and ousted him from his governorship, annexed his territories.³ Manuma Siddhi II thus became, as a consequence of a combination of circumstances which he could not control, a king without a kingdom; he therefore appealed to Gaṇapati for help. In his loyal minister, the famous Telugu poet, Tikkana, he had an able advocate. Tikkana's fame as the greatest Telugu poet of the age had already spread to the most remote corners of the Andhra country. When, therefore, he visited Warangal, he was warmly received by Gaṇapati, who on hearing the errand on which the poet came, readily agreed to help his master Manuma Siddhi and sent a powerful army under his general Sāmanta Bhōja to the south to implement his promise. The outstanding events of the campaign are briefly described in an undated epigraph at Nāyanipalli in the Guntur district. The Kākatīya army set out, according to this record, on an expedition charged with the conquest of the southern countries.⁴ It reduced Nellore to ashes, played a game of ball with the heads of all its opponents who had joined the *Paḍihāris* Bayyana and Tikkana, and having entered Draviḷa-*maṇḍala* captured Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa and received a gift of elephants from the king of Nellore. The Kulōttuṅga Rājendra Chōḍa referred to in this inscription is believed by some to have been identical with the Chōḷa king, Rājendra Chōḷa III, and if so, he must have been a different person from the prince of the same name whom Malyāla Hemādri Redḍi defeated in Kaliṅga in A.D. 1237.⁵ However this may be, it must have been during the course of this expedition that Manuma Siddhi II defeated at Prāyēru, i.e. Paḷaiyāru in the Tanjore district, the combined armies of the kings of Drāviḍa and Karṇāṭaka and of Vijaya-Gaṇḍa-gōpala.⁶ Although Tikkana claims entire credit for this victory for his master, the part played by the Kākatīya army cannot justly be overlooked. If it was Rājendra Chōḷa III who was taken prisoner by Gaṇapati, as contended by some, it is more likely that he fell into the hands of the enemy after his defeat at Paḷaiyāru than at any other time or place. The enemy's forces having been shattered on the battlefield of Paḷaiyāru, Sāmanta Bhōja turned back, and marching towards Kāñchī captured that city without difficulty.

¹ NI, iii, Sl, 8.

² AR, 769 of 1922.

³ Tikkana, *Nir-Uttara*, 1, 41.

⁴ AR, 769 of 1922.

⁵ SII, iv, 1333; AR, 411 of 1893.

⁶ Tikkana, *Nir-Utta*, 1, 39.

Gaṇapati in Western Āndhra. The victory obtained in the battle of Palaiyāru and the capture of Kāñchī by Sāmanta Bhōja in A.D. 1250 do not seem to have produced any permanent results, since the provenance of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's inscriptions leaves no room for doubt that he soon recovered his hold over Kāñchī and its neighbourhood, and continued to rule there until A.D. 1282.¹ What enabled him to regain his authority without difficulty was doubtless the preoccupation of Manuma Siddhi II and Gaṇapati with the affairs of the Western Telugu country. Rakkasa Gaṅga had, as may be remembered, defeated Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi, the Kāyastha chief, whom Chōḍa Tikka had appointed as the commander of his forces in Upper-Pākanādu, and had seized the territory under his rule. He was supported in this enterprise by the Telugu Chōḷa chief of Jagatāpi-Gutti (the modern Gutti in the Anantapur district), who, as a consequence, assumed the title of *Gaṇḍapendēra-Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi-sarvasva-bandikāra* or 'the plunderer of the entire property of Gaṇḍapendēra Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi'.² Manuma Siddhi and Gaṇapati, after their victorious campaign in the Tamil country, marched against him by way of Kālahasti in the Chittoor district and attacked him there. In the war that followed Rakkasa Gaṅga was worsted and had to surrender the territories which he had wrested from Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi. Though Tikkana attributes the credit for the victory to the prowess of his master, Manuma Siddhi, the evidence of the inscriptions clearly shows that it was not achieved without the Kākatiya support. Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi, after his defeat at the hands of Rakkasa Gaṅga and his consequent loss of territory, joined the service of Gaṇapati, who conferred on him the high office of *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati*, or 'the superintendent of seventy-two *niyōgas*' at his court.³ In an inscription at Tripurāntakam, dated A.D. 1254, he claims to have vanquished Rakkasa Gaṅga and put him to flight.⁴ Gaṇḍapendēra Jannigadēva, a nephew of Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi, and a feudatory of Gaṇapatidēva and subsequently of Rudrāmbā, evidently assisted his uncle in the campaign against Rakkasa Gaṅga; for in a record dated a few years later in A.D. 1264 he is said to have pursued the latter after his defeat.⁵ It follows from this that Gaṇapati had lent support to Manuma Siddhi II and Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi to overthrow the power of the Vaidumbā chief. His victory no doubt resulted in the reconquest of the territory seized by the Vaidumbā; but Manuma Siddhi, to whom it had originally belonged, did not get it back again; he had to surrender it to Gaṇapati, who conferred it on Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi, apparently with Manuma's consent, as a family estate, a transaction which is euphemistically described by Tikkana in his *Nirvachan-Ōttara-Rāmāyaṇam* as a gift gracefully bestowed by his master on the Kāyastha chief to demonstrate his affectionate regard for his faithful dependant.⁶

¹ *AR*, 137 of 1916.

² *Bhārati*, vol. xv, part i, p. 157.

³ *SII*, x, 332; *AR*, 283 of 1905.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 402; *AR*, 350 of 1909.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 343; *AR*, 231 of 1905.

⁶ *Nir-Utta*, 1, 41.

Gaṇapati and the Sēuṇas. The relations between Gaṇapati and his western neighbours the Sēuṇas appear to have been on the whole peaceful. The Gaṇapēśvaram epigraph does indeed refer to the Sēuṇa king as one of the enemies conquered by him;¹ but the circumstances in which he came into conflict with the Sēuṇas are completely unknown. Very probably Gaṇapati lent support to his friend Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore to ward off the Sēuṇa attack on his dominions. However that may be, there is reason to believe that subsequent to the battle of Kurumalūr the relations between the two kingdoms underwent a change for the better, and that they even joined together to resist the attacks of the Pāṇḍyas. Among the enemies conquered by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, a king bearing the name Kshēma or Kshēmāsura is mentioned in connexion with the Sēuṇas.² The identity of this king has been a matter of considerable doubt. It has however been suggested on the strength of the phrase *Gaṇapati-kshēmāsura*, occurring in a fragmentary record on a temple at Tirupati, that he was none other than the Kākatiya monarch of that name.³ Accepting for the moment the soundness of this identification, it may be suggested that Gaṇapati and the Sēuṇa king joined forces and attempted to check the expansion of the Pāṇḍyan power in the early years of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. This is not at all unlikely, since a few years later, in A.D. 1263, when the Pāṇḍya king advanced on Nellore, he found arrayed against him the Telugu Chōḍa, the Kākatiya, and the Ārya (i.e. Sēuṇa) forces on the battlefield of Muttukūr.⁴

Gaṇapati and the Pāṇḍyas. Gaṇapati's alliance with the Telugu Chōḷa kings of Nellore involved him in a war with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, who, under the able leadership of the famous Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, subjugated between A.D. 1251 and 1257 the whole of Southern India and established their hegemony over it. As the Telugu Chōḷa rulers of Nellore owed allegiance, even though only nominally, to the Chōḷa emperor, the Pāṇḍyas who had overthrown his authority considered that as his political successors they ought to bring the Telugu Chōḷa dominions also under their sway. Of the two Telugu Chōḷa chiefs who succeeded Tikka, his son, Manuma Siddhi II, known also as Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla, held the northern or Telugu districts, whilst Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla ruled over the southern or Tamil districts. The latter by reason of the proximity of his territory to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, and also on account of his alliance with the redoubtable Kāḍava chief, Kōpperuñ-jīṅga, naturally became the object of their first attack. The steps taken by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla to protect his dominion from the Pāṇḍyan invasion are not known. He ultimately had to submit to the superior military strength of the Pāṇḍyas and acknowledge their supremacy. An inscription at Kāñchī of

¹ *El*, III, No. 15, v. 34, p. 87.

² *SH*, iv, 625. *Kshēmair-samarāṇi Sēuṇaiḥ*.

³ *TTDI*, i, No. 53.

⁴ *AR*, 361 of 1913.

Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, dated A.D. 1260, shows that the Pāṇḍyas had by that time overcome his opposition and entered his capital.¹ They next turned their attention to Nellore; but the conquest of that place was not so easily effected, since the attempt to reduce it involved them in a war with the northern powers, especially the Kākatīyas, with whom Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla, otherwise known as Manuma Siddhi II, was in alliance. Apprehending the danger of an imminent Pāṇḍyan attack on his territories, he appealed to the Kākatīya, the Sēṇa, and the Bāṇa rulers for help. To weaken the forces of the enemy by means of a diversion, the Pāṇḍyas sent an expedition, consisting mostly of feudatory forces, into the Kākatīya kingdom. The inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla III, Kōpperuñjiṅga, and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, who had been reduced to vassalage by the Pāṇḍyas, found at Tripurāntakam, in the heart of the Kākatīya kingdom, clearly indicate that these chieftains took part in the expedition.² Kōpperuñjiṅga, who is believed to have led the advance guard of the Pāṇḍyan army, penetrated as far as Dākshārāmam in the East Gōdāvarī district, with the object probably of establishing contact with the king of Kaḷiṅga, the enemy of the Kākatīya monarch;³ but he suffered a defeat at the hands of Gaṇapati and was compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty.⁴ It was obviously after this defeat that Kōpperuñjiṅga, on the occasion of his paying homage to Gaṇapati, was honoured by him with the decoration of *vīra-pādamudra* or the anklet of the heroes.⁵ Rājendra Chōla III and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, who probably suffered a defeat in an encounter with the Kākatīya nobles headed by the Kāyastha chief Jannigadēva, retreated hastily towards their dominions. That was apparently the reason why Vikrama Pāṇḍya relinquished the idea of invading the Kākatīya kingdom, though he attributes it to his unwillingness to attack Gaṇapati who had two carps (the Pāṇḍyan emblems) on his face and a woman who was ruling over it with a man's name.⁶

While the expedition under Kōpperuñjiṅga was still in progress in the north, the main Pāṇḍyan army led by at least three of their kings, Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Bhuvanaikavīra Vikrama Pāṇḍya, and Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, advanced along the coast towards Nellore. They swept away all opposition and reached Muttukūr, a village situated near the sea at a distance of thirteen miles to the east of the city. In a fierce engagement which took place here in A.D. 1263 Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla was killed and his allies sustained a crushing defeat and retreated towards Pērāru (the Krishnā). The Kākatīya and Sēṇa forces appear to have suffered terribly during the course of their retreat; their dead bodies, according to the contemporary Pāṇḍyan records, lay

¹ *AR*, 483 of 1919.

² *AR*, 201, 197, 198, and 272 of 1905.

³ *III*, xii, 247; *AR*, 198 of 1905.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *TTDI*, I, 19.

⁶ *AR*, 365 of 1915.

strewn over the country as far as the banks of the Pērāru, and the Bāṇa sought safety in the jungle.¹ As a result of this victory the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore was annexed to the Pāṇḍyan empire, though its administration was entrusted to the brothers of Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāla, who apparently were compelled to rule it as the vassals of the Pāṇḍyas.² In honour of his victory, Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya celebrated *virābhishēka*, or the anointment, as a conquering hero, both at Nellore and at Kāñchī, these being the two alternate capitals of the kingdom of Nellore,³ and struck a coin bearing the Pāṇḍyan emblem of two fishes separated by a sceptre with the legend *Sundara Pāṇḍya* in Tamil on the reverse and the Kākatiya Boar facing right below the symbols of the Sun and the Crescent Moon on the obverse.⁴

Inter-State Relations. Gaṇapati is credited in some of his inscriptions with victory over the kings of several other countries. The Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāyapa, for instance, states that the Madra king, the Pāñchāla, the Vi-dēha king, the Hammīra, the Hūṇa, and the king of Kāśī were suppliants at his door.⁵ Similarly it is stated in the Pākhāl inscription that his heralds at each assembly announce before him the names of the Lord of Kāśī, the Kālīṅga, the Śaka monarch, the Ruler of Kēraḷa, 'the (King) of Tummāṇa, the Hūṇa King, the Prince of the Kurus, the Lord of Arimarda, the Ruler of the Māga-dhas, the Nēpāla, the Chōḷa Monarchs' and present them to him.⁶ Gaṇapati's relations with the rulers of the Kālīṅga and Chōḷa countries have already been noticed. Of the other kingdoms, Madra, Pāñchāla, Vi-dēha, Kāśī, Magadha, Kuru, and Nēpāla were situated in the north; and all of them, excepting probably the last, disappeared long before the time of Gaṇapati; for the whole of Northern India was at the time under the rule of the Muslim Sulṭāns of Delhi. The Śaka rule which had been confined to Western India in ancient times was destroyed by the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya in the latter half of the fourth century A.D., and the Hūṇas were overwhelmed by Yaśovarman and Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya early in the next. Neither the Śakas nor the Hūṇas are known to have ruled subsequently in any part of India. The inclusion of the kings of these countries among the princes who came to pay homage to Gaṇapati must, therefore, be attributed to a literary convention popular with the *prafastī* writers of the period and it may be dismissed without serious consideration. Tummāṇa was situated in the Madhya Pradesh adjoining Teliṅgāṇa, and Kēraḷa in the extreme south on the west coast. Arimarda has been identified with Pegu on the Burmese coast; it is not unlikely that Gaṇapati may have had intercourse, friendly or otherwise,

¹ AR, 332, 340, 354, 361, and 365 of 1915.

² K. A. N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 168.

³ ARE, 1914, part ii, para. 18; *SII*, iv, no. 865.

⁴ PIHC, 1938, p. 42.

⁵ EI, v, p. 149.

⁶ HAS, o. 4, p. 10.

with rulers of these countries. Of the Hammīras, who also figure in the Sēuṇa inscriptions as the opponents of Siṅghaṇa, nothing is known, although they had been identified by some, but on very inadequate grounds, with the Muslims.¹

Achievements of Gaṇapati. Gaṇapati was the most powerful of the Kākatiya sovereigns. During his long reign of sixty-three years, he met with few reverses, except during the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1263, though he was continuously engaged in warfare. At the time of his accession, the Āndhra country was in a state of complete political disorganization. The power of the Chālukya-Chōlas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi had finally disappeared, leaving behind a congeries of feudal states, small and great, engaged in a confused scramble for supremacy. He set before himself the task of restoring the political unity of the country and succeeded in a large measure in accomplishing his object.

Gaṇapati was a good administrator; he concerted measures for improving trade and industries in general, especially agriculture. The petty chiefs ruling in the region round Mōṛupalli had been scaring away the foreign merchants, who had been accustomed to frequent that harbour, by levying heavy duties on imports and exports and confiscating articles of merchandise which had been cast ashore. He put an end to these exactions; and by granting special concessions to the merchants who came to trade in the port and taking measures to ensure the safety of their lives and property he attracted them into his dominions. In consequence of this policy the economic prosperity of the country rapidly increased, whilst towns and cities became rich as trade and industry grew and prospered.

An important event in the civil administration of the country was the change of the capital from Anumakoṇḍa to Warangal. The foundations of the new capital were laid, as we have mentioned above, by Gaṇapati's uncle Rudradēva in the last years of his reign. Gaṇapati continued his work, and built two forts one within the other, constructed respectively of stone and of mud. The new fort, if we can rely on tradition, was provided with seventy-five bastions, each of which was guarded by a *nāyaka* in the service of the king.

Gaṇapati's family. Gaṇapati had no male issue; but he had two daughters, the elder called Rudrāmbā or Rudramadēvi and the younger named Gaṇapāmbā or Gaṇapamadēvi. The former was given in marriage to a prince of the Eastern Chālukyan lineage called Virabhadra, and the latter to Bēta of the Kōṭa family. Gaṇapati chose his elder daughter, Rudrāmbā, as the heir apparent; and regarding her as a son, named her Rudradēva and in A.D. 1260 or a little earlier made her his co-regent.

Gaṇapati's Vassals, Generals, and Ministers. Gaṇapati was assisted in his wars and in the administration of the kingdom by a large number of feuda-

¹ Fleet: *DKD, Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, p. 525.

torics, generals, ministers, and officials. All of them, to whichever category they belonged, had to serve in the army, since the public services were organized on a military basis. It is not possible, therefore, to make any distinction between civil and military properly so called because no such distinction existed at the time. The feudatories may be divided broadly into two classes, old and new. The Rēcheṅṅas and the Malyālas were the oldest of the Kākatīya feudatories. Their fortunes, as we noted above, were linked up with those of the Kākatīya monarchs almost from the very beginning. Rudra, the head of the Rēcheṅṅa family, played an important part in the affairs of the Kākatīya kingdom in the opening years of Gaṇapati's reign and indeed saved it from destruction. When, on the death of Kākatī Rudra and his brother Mahādēva in the wars with the Sēuṅṅas, and the imprisonment of Gaṇapati at Dēvagiri, the nobles rose in revolt and warriors from beyond the frontiers swept the country, Rudra stood firmly loyal and took upon himself the task of preserving the integrity of the kingdom. He drove out the foreign invaders, put down the nobles with a stern hand, and governed the land until the return of his young master from captivity at Dēvagiri.¹ Rājanāyaka, the commander of his forces, followed the Kākatīya army to Kaṅṅga when, after the death of the Velanāṅṅi king Pṛithviśvara, Gaṇapati invaded that country in A.D. 1212, and rendered distinguished service on several fields of battle.² Though several other members of the Rēcheṅṅa family are mentioned in the inscriptions they do not demand any special notice, since they do not seem to have had any considerable share in the affairs of the State. Of the chiefs of the Malyāla family, Chauṅṅṅa, the son of Kāṅṅa, the conqueror of Kōṅṅa, deserves particular mention, for he took a leading part in the early wars of Gaṇapati with the Velanāṅṅi ruler Pṛithviśvara. The appellations *dvīpī-luvitāka* and *dvīpī-chūṅṅakāṅṅa* which are associated with his name in the inscriptions clearly prove that he took an active part in the overthrow of the Ayya family and the subjugation of Dīvi which was situated on the shore of the estuary of the river Kṛishṅṅā.³

The feudatories of the second class came under the Kākatīya rule only during the time of Gaṇapati. Of these the Ayya chiefs of Dīvi are the most noticeable. Gaṇapati, it may be remembered, reduced the Ayya family to subjection about A.D. 1202, married, as mentioned above, two princesses, Nāramāmbā and Pēramāmbā, the daughters of Pina Chōṅṅi, and took Jāyapa, one of the three sons of that chief, into his service.⁴ Jāyapa was a distinguished soldier who appears to have been specially skilled in training the war elephants and overseeing their employment on the field of battle. He became the *gaja-sāhiṅṅi* of Gaṇapati and rendered valuable service in his wars, especially during

¹ *HLAS*, No. 3, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, *SH*, iv, 1117.

³ *Corpus*, Nos. 8-9.

⁴ *EL*, iii, pp. 82-93.

his campaign in Kāliṅga. Jāyapa was a connoisseur of art and a distinguished man of letters; he composed a treatise on dancing and choreography called the *Nṛīttaratnāvalī*, which is considered by competent authorities to be the best work extant on the subject by any Indian writer. The most important and powerful feudatories of Gaṇapati, however, belonged to the various branches of the Telugu Chōḷa family. Of these, the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore, who must be regarded as subordinate allies rather than feudatories, demand attention first. The part played by Tikka and Maṇuma Siddhi II in the southern wars of Gaṇapati has already been described and their activities need not be considered afresh in this context. Next in importance were the Ēruva and Pottapi branches of the family. How and when these were reduced to subjection by Gaṇapati is not definitely known, but the former appear to have come under the Kākatīya power soon after the overthrow of the Velanāḍus. As Chōḍa Tikka, who took part in Gaṇapati's last war with Pṛithivīśvara, is said to have conquered the *manniya* chiefs of Ēruva in the early years of that king's reign, it is not unlikely that Tikka may have in fact undertaken the conquest of the district at the instance of his ally. However that may be, it seems certain that this conquest was effected before Gaṇapati's invasion of Kāliṅga in A.D. 1212; for Ēruva Bhīma, who must have entered into the service of the Kākatīya monarch after the subjugation of his territory, took an active part in it, as we have mentioned above. The Telugu Chōḷas of Pottapi appear to have come under the Kākatīya rule about the same time or a little later; and Ōpili Siddhi of this family, at the instance of his master Gaṇapatidēva, defeated Mallidēva, the Telugu Chōḷa of Koṇidena, conquered Kamma-nāḍu, and was granted possession of the Six-Thousand Country as a reward for his services.¹ The Chakranārāyaṇa princes of Addaṅki were probably forced to submit about the same time. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mādhava Mahārāja of this family, who was apparently ruling as an independent chief in A.D. 1208-9, is said in an inscription of his son Śārṅgadharadēva, dated A.D. 1254-5, to have been a vassal of Kākatī Gaṇapatidēva;² a certain Mādēva or Mādhava Nāyaka, who was ruling over this region as a subordinate of Gaṇapati in A.D. 1239-40, has been identified with this Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mādhava Mahārāja.³ If this identification should be accepted, it would corroborate the evidence of Śārṅgadharadēva's inscription that Mādhava was indeed a vassal of Gaṇapati. He was succeeded by his sons Siṅghaladēva and Śārṅgadharadēva, who ruled their principality jointly as the subordinates of Gaṇapati until A.D. 1257.⁴ The Chakranārāyaṇa line has been wrongly taken by modern writers to have been an offshoot of the Sēuṇa family of Dēvagiri. There is, however, absolutely no evidence in support of this view, though since Mādhava Mahārāja and his descendants were members of the Śālaṅkāyana-gōtra or clan, it is not improbable that they had some remote connexion

¹ AR, 183 of 1899 (SII, vi, 628); AR, 243 of 1897 (SII, vi, 206).

² NDI, iii, o. 76, NDI, i, Cp., 17.

³ NDI, iii, p. 1452.

⁴ NDI, iii, p. 1451.

with the kings of the Śāṅkāyana dynasty who held sway over the coastal Āndhra country in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. Certain chiefs of the Eastern Chālukyan descent do in fact figure in the inscriptions of Gaṇapati, but nothing of importance is known about them, though Gaṇapati's daughter Rudrāmbā was given in marriage to Virabhadra, one of the members of this family.¹ Another member of the family, Bhīmarāju who made the gift of a village to the temple of Tripurāntaka-Mahādēva at Tripurāntakam in A.D. 1257, appears to have taken an active part in Gaṇapati's expedition to the South. His titles *Draviṣa-bhayajvara*, *Karṇāṭa-māṇḍalika-vairi-gōdhumā-ghaṭṭana-gharaṭṭa*, and *Ballāḍarāja-diśāpaṭṭa*, clearly indicate that he participated in Sāmanta Bhōja's expedition in A.D. 1249.² Another Chālukyan chief, whose name is now unfortunately lost, held the offices of the *sakala sēnādhipati* (commander-in-chief of all the armies) and *paṭṭasāhiṇi*. He claims to have been the Gāṇḍīva (Arjuna) of the battle which was fought on the banks of the Gōḍāvarī and that he there cut off the head of Goṇṭūri Nāgadēva,³ who, as we have mentioned above, was probably an ally of the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasimha I.

The names of several generals in the service of Gaṇapati are recorded in the inscriptions of his reign, but since no information is available about their careers or the part they played in the wars of their master, most of them do not call for special notice; exception, however, must be made in the cases of a few. Sāmanta Bhōja of the Dōchi family led the Kākatiya armies during Gaṇapati's expedition to the South in A.D. 1249. He defeated the southern rulers and captured the city of Kāñchī, where he re-established the authority of the Telugu Chōḷa king of Nellore.⁴ It is not unlikely that he also assisted Manuma Siddhi II and Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi in overthrowing the Kalukāḍa chief Rakkasa Gaṅga. Bhāskara or Bhāskaradēva and Prōlu Rautu also deserve mention. The former was the commander of the elephant force, and the latter held the office of *tantrapāla* or war minister.⁵ Among the ministers of the king, Sōmaya of the Indulūri family was the most eminent. Though a brāhman by birth and ranking as a *mahāpradhāna* at the court, he, like several others of his community, followed the profession of arms and by sheer merit rose to the position of one of the foremost generals in the service of his master. If we can trust the evidence of the *Śivayōgasāra*, he commanded the Kākatiya expeditionary force against Kāḷiṅga in A.D. 1212, when he overran that country, and having destroyed the authority of the Kolanu chiefs, reduced Vēṅgī to subjection. In recognition of his meritorious services, Gaṇapati seems to have conferred on him the title of Kolani-Sōma. Another *mahāpradhāna* of this king was Prōla-Bhīma Nāyaka, who bore several distinguished titles, the most important of which was *Āruvēla-dūshaka* (destroyer of the Āruvēlu, i.e. the Vela-nāḍu Six-thousand Country), *Sūryavaiṃsa-pratiśṭhāchārya* (the establisher of

¹ *SII*, x, 360; *AR*, 740 of 1920.

² *AR*, 194 of 1905 (*SII*, x, 398).

³ *ARE*, 1929-30, para. 30, 1916, para. 32.

⁴ *AR*, 203 of 1905 (*SII*, x, 355).

⁵ *JA*, xxi, pp. 122, 197.

⁶ *Kākatiya Samchikāi*, App., p. 12, v. 27.

the Solar family of kings), and *Kāñchi-chūrakāra* (the plunderer of Kāñchī). As this *mahāpradhāna* is said to have died in A.D. 1213, it may be presumed that he served in Gaṇapati's last war on Prithviśvara of Velanādu, in which he restored Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore to his ancestral kingdom, and helped this prince to reconquer the city of Kāñchī from his enemies.¹ Muche-Nāyaka of the *Musunḍuri-amvaya*, and Penuṅgula *vaṁsa* and Maṇuma-kula, an *aṅkakāra* of *Kōṭageluwa* and *Kāñchīpura-nirjita-jayāṅgā-vallabha*, i.e. the lord of the lady victory won by conquering the city of Kāñchī² appears to have assisted Prōla-Bhīma Nāyaka in recapturing Kāñchī. Pōtana, Kuchena Preggeḍa, and Koṇḍaya Preggeḍa all held office as *pradhānas*.³ The position of Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi who held office as *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati* in the official hierarchy of the State is not easy to determine. He would seem to have been, according to the literal interpretation of his official designation, president of the seventy-two categories of royal services, in which the *sēnādhyakshas*, *mahāpradhānas*, *pradhānas*, &c., were included, but whether he actually occupied such an exalted place at Gaṇapati's court cannot be ascertained definitely, since the evidence on the subject is so meagre and fragmentary. Apart from his position as a *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati*, Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi was a distinguished military officer; he was probably in charge of the Kākatīya cavalry, for he is spoken of, in one of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions, as a *turaga-sādhnika*.⁴ The early history of Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi is obscure. He was originally, according to the *Kaifiyat* of Ōgūru, in the service of Chōḍa Tikka of Nellore, who appointed him as the governor of his territories above the Eastern Ghats.⁵ On the death of his master in A.D. 1248, he was attacked by the Kalukāḍa chief Rakkasa Gaṅga who deprived him of his authority and drove him into exile. Thereupon he entered the service of Gaṇapati about A.D. 1250, probably with the help of his brother-in-law Ambadēva, and succeeded some time before A.D. 1253 in winning back his territory. Gaṇapati appointed him to the office of the *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati*, as we have just mentioned, and conferred on him an extensive tract of territory extending from Pānugal in the Nalgonḍa district of the old Hyderabad State to the fort of Kaivāram in the Kolar district of the Mysore State, which he ruled from Vullūrupattana in the Cuddapah district of the Āndhra State as his capital.⁶ It may be noted here that this territory granted by Gaṇapati to Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi as his fief became the nucleus of the short-lived Kāyastha kingdom of Vallūr which rose to such power under his successors. Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi is said in his inscriptions to have won victories over several enemies of whom, however, nothing more than their names is now known to us.

¹ *ARE*, 1929-30, para. 30.

² *AR*, No. 188 of 1917 (*SII*, x, 265).

³ *AR*, Nos. 530 of 1925, 328 of 1934-5, *Ins of Mad. Pres.*, ii, Gt. 386 E.

⁴ *AR*, No. 268 of 1905, *SII*, x, 465.

⁵ See Ch. Virabhadra Rao, *History of the Age of the Kākatīya Kings*, p. 402.

⁶ *AR*, No. 571 of 1909, *SII*, x, 334.

Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi died in A.D. 1257 after serving Gaṇapati for eight years. As he had no issue, he was succeeded by his nephew Jannigadēva, the son of his younger sister Chandaladēvi. Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi had in his service an able minister called Nāmadēva Paṇḍita, who helped him to carry on the administration of his territory. He stood high in the favour of Gaṇapati, who granted to him the standard of *mūru-rāya-jagadāḷa* and the title *chalamarti-gaṇḍa*.¹

Rudramadēvi

(A.D. 1259-95)

Rudramadēvi or Rudrāmbā, who, it may be remembered, was nominated by her father Gaṇapatidēva as the heir to the throne, began to rule the kingdom, as already stated, conjointly with him as his co-regent from Ś. 1182 (A.D. 1259-60) onwards,² under the name of Rudradēva Mahārāja. During the first two or three years of her joint rule with her father, whilst she was being initiated into the mysteries of government under his guidance, the country was thrown into confusion and disorder, as we have explained above, by the Pāṇḍyan invasion and the disastrous defeat on the battlefield of Muttukūr. Although Gaṇapati was, as we know, ultimately successful in vanquishing the Pāṇḍyan armies which had penetrated as far north as the banks of the Kṛishṇā, and in turning back the tide of invasion, he yet suffered considerable loss of territory, and his hold over his feudatories and nobles was very much shaken. In consequence of this they became more powerful and manifested an increasing tendency to act independently without reference to the central government. Realizing perhaps that he was too old and feeble to cope with the new situation, Gaṇapati appears to have withdrawn from

¹ *AR*, Nos. 231 and 283 of 1903 and *III*, x, 332 and 343.

² *AR*, No. 194 of 1903 and *III*, x, 398. The relationship between Gaṇapatidēva and Rudrāmbā had been, until recently, a subject of controversy. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who visited the Telugu country in or about A.D. 1293 during the closing years of Rudrāmbā's reign, speaks of her as the wife of her predecessor, viz. Gaṇapatidēva (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 174). Similarly, Kumāraswāmi Sōmapīṭhi, the son of the famous commentator, Kolachelama Mallinātha Sūri, asserts in his celebrated commentary on Vidyānātha's *Pratāpariudra-yāśāhūṣhaṇam* that after the death of Gaṇapatidēva, who had only female issue, his chief queen, Rudramadēvi, ruled the kingdom for several years without opposition (*Kākatya Samchika*, App.). His evidence is not, however, consistent; for in the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇam* of the same work he states that Rudrāmbā was the daughter of Gaṇapatidēva by his queen, Sōmātibā, thereby contradicting his own earlier statement. How Kumāraswāmi Sōmapīṭhi came to commit himself to two contradictory statements about Gaṇapatidēva's relationship to Rudrāmbā is not easily explicable. The *Pratāpacharitra* and the *Local Records* (*Saivaprachārīṇā Granthamālā*, Warangal, No. 3, p. 40) also refer in the same manner to Rudramadēvi as Gaṇapatidēva's queen. On the authority of the works mentioned above, especially the first, several scholars and historians of the last generation held that Gaṇapatidēva was succeeded by his queen Rudramadēvi. This view, however, is utterly untenable. The contemporary epigraphic evidence leaves absolutely no room for doubt that Rudrāmbā was not the wife but the daughter of Gaṇapati. As this fact has now been universally recognized, it is not necessary to cite evidence or to embark on a fresh discussion of the subject here.

active politics about this time and to have retired into the background, leaving the government entirely in the hands of his daughter and her counsellors.

The king did not, however, as is generally assumed, die immediately after his retirement. There is reason to believe that he was alive at least until A.D. 1269-70, though he no longer took much part in the affairs of the kingdom. Two records call for special attention in this connexion. In an epigraph at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1188 Kshaya (A.D. 1266) Pedda Mallaya Preggaḍa, feudal lord of the donor Tammirāja, is spoken of as the *Mahāpradhāna* and the subordinate of Gaṇapatidēva Mahārāja.¹ It is evident then that Gaṇapati was still living at this time; otherwise the donor of the record would not have omitted the name of the ruling sovereign Rudramadēvi and referred to his master as a *Mahāpradhāna* of Gaṇapatidēva. More important still is an inscription of the Kāyastha chief Jannigadēva at Duggi in the Palnad *tāluk* of the Guntur district dated Ś. 1191 Śukla (A.D. 1269), in which Rudramadēvi is spoken of as the *Paṭṭōddhati* of Gaṇapatidēva Mahārāja and not as a queen formally invested with sovereign powers;² for the term *paṭṭōddhati*, an obvious scribal error for *paṭṭōddhriti* (*paṭṭa*, royalty, and *ud-dhriti*, chosen or selected), indicates that Rudramadēvi was still at that time only queen designate and not yet formally anointed as sovereign ruler. Two important conclusions follow from this: (1) that Gaṇapatidēva was alive until Ś. 1191 (A.D. 1269); and (2) that Rudramadēvi was not the crowned queen of the Kākatiya kingdom until that year. The time was not yet propitious for celebrating her coronation. The political situation in the country was indeed critical; both internal and external danger threatened the stability of the kingdom.

The nomination of Rudrāmbā by Gaṇapatidēva as his heir and successor, and her appointment as his co-regent, did not meet with general approval. Some of the nobles of the country who were unwilling to pay obeisance to a woman and submit to her authority took up arms against her and attempted to throw off her yoke. Certain other members of the royal house, according to the *Pratāpacharitra*, also made a bid for the throne. It is stated that Hariharadēva and Murāridēva, sons of Gaṇapatidēva by another queen who was not the mother of Rudrāmbā, gathered their followers together, captured Warangal, and ousted Rudrāmbā from the capital city; but she had powerful supporters who rallied round her and helped her to put down the rebels with a stern hand. She marched on the capital with all speed at the head of a large army, persuaded the citizens to join her and abandon her enemies, and with their help easily effected entrance into the fort and put to death her half-brothers who there fell into her hands.³ This account, however, is not supported by other evidence. Nowhere excepting in the *Pratāpacharitra* do we find any mention of Gaṇapatidēva's sons Hariharadēva and Murāridēva

¹ AR, 207 of 1905; *SII*, x, 407.

² AR, 573 of 1909; *SII*, x, 422.

³ *Saivaprachārīnī-Granthamāla* (Warangal), No. 3, p. 40.

in the numerous epigraphical and literary records of the time. Thus in the absence of supporting evidence of a trustworthy character no historical value need be attached to the story of Hariharadēva and Murāridēva, though it is not unlikely that the account preserves the memory of a rebellion against the authority of Rudrāmbā. Most of the feudatories, generals, and officials remained firmly loyal to the queen. The Kāyastha chiefs, Jannigadēva and his younger brothers Tripurāri and Ambadēva, Prasāditya of the Rēcheṭṭa family, and some of the Redḍi chiefs like Gōna Gannaya Redḍi espoused her cause and helped her to defeat the rebels. According to the *Velugōtivarī-vaṁśāvalī* Rudrāmbā's victory over the rebels was entirely due to the unswerving loyalty and soldierly prowess of Rēcheṭṭa Prasāditya. After vanquishing the queen's enemies, he is said to have carried through her coronation and himself to have assumed the proud titles of *Kākatīya-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya* and *Rāja-pitāmahānka*.¹

The *Velugōtivarī-vaṁśāvalī*, which is in fact the family chronicle of the Rēcheṭṭa chiefs, attributes the entire credit of suppressing the rebels to Prasāditya and ignores the parts played by others. But in fact Prasāditya was not the only chief who was distinguished by the titles mentioned above. Several other nobles and officers who bore the same or similar titles must have joined him in suppressing the rebels and in establishing the queen firmly on her father's throne.² Of these *Mahāpradhāna* Kannara Nāyaka, *Mahāpradhāna* Gaṇapaddēva Mahārājulu, Nissanḥkamalla Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, and Ambadēva, who are all referred to as *Rājasthāpanāchāryas* in their inscriptions ranging in date from Ś. 1196 (A.D. 1275) to Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290), deserve special mention.³ And beside these Guṇḍaya Nāyaka and Mādaya Nāyaka, who bore the *birudas* of *svāmidrōhara-gaṇḍa*, and Māchaya Nāyaka who, in addition to this, is called *svāmivamśhakara-gaṇḍa*, may have also participated in putting down the intransigent chieftains.⁴

The external dangers were not less threatening. Some of the rulers of the neighbouring states seized the Kākatīya territory in the neighbourhood of their

¹ *Velugōtivarī-vaṁśāvalī* (University of Madras), 1939, Intro., pp. 3-4 and vv. 17-18.

² Dēvari Nāyaḍu, son of Māchaya Nāyaningāru, is spoken of as *Kāketarājya-sthāpan-āchārya* in his inscriptions dated Ś. 1235 (A.D. 1313) and Ś. 1239 (A.D. 1317) (*SII*, x, 505; *AR*, 79 of 1938-9). Similarly, Kāchaya Redḍi 'who vanquished the Muslim ruler who had penetrated into the Telugu country after conquering Gauḷa, Gūrjara, Mālava, Mahārāshtra and other countries' is styled *Mahārāja-sthāpan-āchārya* in an undated inscription at Śrīsaḷam in the Kurnool district (*AR*, 54 of 1942-3). These two officers may have acquired their titles by the services which they rendered to the state after the incursion of the Muhammadans into the Telugu country, and had in all probability no connexion with Rudrāmbā's installation on the throne.

³ *Telingāna Inscriptions Revised* (Unpublished), No. 114 (Ālugadapa, Nalgonda district), dated Ś. 1196 Raktākṣhi (A.D. 1275); *AR*, 804 of 1922; *SII*, x, 450, dated Ś. 1202 Pramādi (A.D. 1280) (Naṇḍūru, Bapatla taluk, Guntur district); *Corpus*, 35 (Pānugal, Nalgonda district), dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti (A.D. 1290); *AR*, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465 (Tripurāntakam, Kurnool district), dated Ś. 1212, Vikṛiti (A.D. 1290).

⁴ *Telingāna Inscriptions Revised* (Unpublished), No. 126 (Ś. 1219, A.D. 1297), No. 127 (Ś. 1220, A.D. 1298); and *SII*, x, 491.

frontiers and established themselves there permanently. The Kaḷiṅga Gajapati Narasiṃha I, it may be remembered, had suffered a defeat in or before A.D. 1157-8 at the hands of Gaṇapati in a battle fought on the bank of the Gōdāvarī and had had to retreat into his own country, abandoning his conquests on the bank of the river. The Kākatiya authority lasted there until Ś. 1184 (A.D. 1262), as is clearly proved by Kōpperuṅgiṅga's Dākshārāmaṃ inscriptions of that date, in which he acknowledges the supremacy of Gaṇapatidēva.¹ No trace of the Kākatiya rule is found in any documentary evidence from the Gōdāvarī valley until A.D. 1278-9, when a certain Kārapati Sūraya Redḍi, a servant of Kākatiya Rudradēva Mahārāja, who is identical with Rudrāmbā, made a gift to the temple of the god Bhīmēśvara of Dākshārāmaṃ.² It is obvious that the Kākatiya power must have suffered an eclipse in the Gōdāvarī valley during the interval. What happened there during this period is not definitely known. It is not unlikely that the Gajapati Narasiṃha I of Kaḷiṅga, taking advantage of the then unsettled state of the Kākatiya dominions, led his forces into the Gōdāvarī delta with the object of recovering his lost possessions. A short incomplete epigraph at Dākshārāmaṃ dated Ś. 1184 (A.D. 1262) mentions a Nārasimha Narādhipa who may well be in fact the same person.³

However this may be, no trace of the Kākatiya rule is to be found either in the Gōdāvarī valley or in Vēṅgī during the first sixteen years of Rudramadēvī's reign. The Eastern Chāḷukyan and the Haihaya chiefs who were ruling in the region during this period acknowledge no overlord. It is not possible to ascertain whether they were actually independent or were merely for some time allowed by the queen to govern as nominally autonomous princes because of their relationship to her through her marriage. During the latter part of her reign, at any rate, the Gōdāvarī valley and Vēṅgī would appear to have come once more fully under her sway. The Gajapati Vīra Bhānudēva I, son and successor of Narasiṃha I, accompanied by Arjunadēva, the Matsya chief of Oḍḍādi, and others, invaded Vēṅgī in Ś. 1196 (A.D. 1274) and advanced as far as Dākshārāmaṃ on the Gōdāvarī.⁴ To check his advance and to defend the territories of the petty chiefs of Vēṅgī who were probably under her protection, Rudramadēvī sent an army to the east under two capable commanders, Pōti Nāyaka and Prōli Nāyaka, sons of Nallapa Nāyaka, to oppose the invasion. The Kākatiya generals met the Gajapati somewhere on the banks of the Gōdāvarī and inflicted a crushing defeat on his army. They assumed as a mark of their victory the titles *Gajapati-matta-mātaṅga-simha* (lion to the rutting elephant, viz. the Gajapati) and *Oḍḍiyarāya-māna-mardana* (the destroyer of the pride of Oḍḍiyarāya, that is the Gajapati).⁵ Kākatiya authority was thus

¹ *SII*, iv, 1341, 1342, 1342-B.

² *Ibid.*, 1152.

³ *Ibid.*, 1097.

⁴ *SII*, iv, 1089 and 1373.

⁵ *SII*, x, 422; *The Andhra Patrika*, 1922, Kārtika ba. 30 Saturday, *Literary Supplement*, The Palidindi Inscription.

re-established in the coastal Āndhra country, and that it remained unchallenged there until the end of Rudrāmbā's reign is shown by the provenance of the inscriptions of herself and her subordinates found in the region.¹

The Pāṇḍyas were now in possession of a large part of the Kākatīya territory in the south which they had occupied after their victory at Muttukūr. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I is indeed said to have entrusted this country to the brothers of that Vīra-Gaṇḍagōpāla whom he had slain in the battle; apparently they were to govern it as the feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas.² But in fact nothing is really known either of these brothers or of their reputed rule at Nellore. It is most probable that Vikrama Pāṇḍya, one of the co-regents of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, had actually made an unsuccessful attack on the Kākatīya dominions; the statement in one of his undated inscriptions at Chidambaram that he did not carry his arms to the north because a woman who had assumed the name of a king was then ruling there would seem to be a euphemistic cover for the failure of an abortive expedition led by him against the Kākatīya kingdom.³ The available epigraphic evidence shows that immediately after Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I's return to the south, Nellore and its dependencies passed into the hands of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Virarājendra Chōla, who is identical with the last Chōla emperor Rājendra III,⁴ and who apparently held the territory as a subordinate of the Pāṇḍyan monarch. The inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I at Nandalūr and Tirupati show that the eastern half of the Cuddapah district as well as the Chittoor district were also annexed by him.⁵ The Kalukaḍa chiefs Kēsava-dēva and his brother Rāyamurāri Sōmidēva, sons of Rāyadēva Mahārāja whom Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi had previously fought with and subdued, encouraged probably by the Pāṇḍyas, forswore their allegiance and proclaimed their independence. They made inroads into the Kāyastha territory and succeeded in reducing a large part of it. Though in his inscriptions dated Ś. 1186 and Ś. 1191 Gaṇḍapendēra Jannigadēva is said to have been then ruling the territory extending from Pānugal to Kaivāraṁkōṭa in the Kolar district, this

¹ *AR*, 285 of 1893; *SII*, iv, 1152. Dāksharāmam, Ś. 1200 (A.D. 1278-9); *AR*, 281 of 1930-1. Telikicherla-Tadepalligudem *tāluk*, West Godavari district, Ś. 1202 (A.D. 1200); *AR*, 318 of 1924. Guḍimeṭṭa, Nandigam *tāluk*, Krishna district, Ś. 1213 (A.D. 1291); *SII*, vi, No. 81. Pedakallē palē, Masulipatam *tāluk*, Krishna district, Ś. 1214 (A.D. 1292); *SII*, iv, No. 1307. Dāksharāmam, East Godavari district, Ś. 1215 (A.D. 1293).

² K. A. N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 168.

³ *AR*, No. 365 of 1913.

⁴ V. Venkayya is of opinion that this Virarājendra Chōla is a different person from the Chōla emperor of the same name (*IA*, xxxvii (1909), p. 356). The chronological data furnished by his inscriptions, in which the Śaka years 1174, 1178, 1185 are coupled respectively with his 9th, 13th, and 20th regnal years, show that he came to the throne in Śaka 1165, that is A.D. 1243-4; and though he appears to have begun his reign some three years before the date of accession assigned to the Chōla emperor Rājendra III, yet the fact that he is mentioned as the overlord both of the Telugu Chōla chief Tikka I and of his son Munuma Siddhi II would seem to indicate that Virarājendra Chōla and Rājendra Chōla III are in fact identical (*Nellore Inscriptions*, G. 39, 85, 90; U. 48).

⁵ *AR*, 613 of 1907; *TTDI*, i, Nos. 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54.

assertion is contradicted by the records of the two Kalukaḍa chieftains.¹ It is stated in an epigraph at Ellāreḍḍipalle in the Kamalapur *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district, dated Prabhava corresponding to Ś. 1189 (A.D. 1267-8), that Bhujabala Viranārāyaṇa Sōmēśvaradēva Mahārāja, who is the Sōmidēva mentioned above, was at that time in control of the districts of Muliki 300, Horṇnahaṭi (Honnāvāḍi) 90, and Peṇḍekallu 800 from the Kāyastha capital Vallūripaṭṭaṇam.² Another inscription at Chintalaputtūru in the Cuddapah *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district, dated Vibhava corresponding to Ś. 1190 (A.D. 1268-9), bears testimony to the rule of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* Murāri Kēśavadēva Mahārāja and Sōmidēva Mahārāja, the lords of Kalukaḍapura, over the Kāyastha territory at that time.³ If the Sōmidēva mentioned in a record at Guṇḍluru in the Rajampet *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district dated Ś. 1206 is, as is very likely, identical with the Kalukaḍa chief of that name, then the Kāyastha territory must have remained under the Kalukaḍas at least until that year.⁴ The absence of any reference in the inscriptions of Tripurāridēva and Aribadēva, brothers and successors of Jannigadēva, to any victory over the Kalukaḍa chiefs prior to Ś. 1194 (A.D. 1272)⁵ seems to point in the same direction.

The most serious danger which threatened to subvert the Kākatiya monarchy came, however, from the west. The Sēuṇa Mahādēva who succeeded his cousin Kṛishṇa in A.D. 1260 appears to have invaded the Kākatiya kingdom soon after his accession to the throne. In some of his inscriptions Mahādēva is said to have been 'the uprooter of the stalk of the lotus of the head of Tilliṅgarāya'; he is also said to have 'blown away like a tempestuous wind the heap of cotton, viz. the ruler of the Tilliṅga country', and to have 'captured in battle the elephants, and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tilliṅga'; but to have left that ruler Rudrama free, 'because of his reluctance to kill a woman'.⁶ These statements cannot possibly be accepted at their face value since they are clearly one-sided and, to say the least, highly exaggerated. In the first place, Mahādēva never in fact killed any ruler of the Tilliṅga country, as his title *Telūṅgarāya-śiraḥ-kamala-mūlōṭpāṭana* appears to suggest; for Rudrāmbā, his contemporary on the Āndhra throne, actually survived him for several years. The title was, as a matter of fact, hereditary; it had its origin in Jaitugi I's victory over Kākati Rudra in A.D. 1196; and it was borne by at least one Sēuṇa king before Mahādēva ever came to the throne.⁷ His invasion of the Kākatiya kingdom was, however, a fact; it was an attack which, though successful at first, seems to have ended, entirely contrary to the statement in the Sēuṇa records, in utter failure; for according to the *Pratāpa-*

¹ *AR*, 550 and 573 of 1909; *SII*, x, 402 and 422.

² *AR*, 226 of 1937-8.

³ *AR*, 622 of 1909.

⁴ *AR*, 168 and 248 of 1905; *SII*, x, 431 and 432.

⁵ *Hemādri-Vratakhanda*, Rājaprasasti I, vv. 48 and 52; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ii, i, p. 275.

⁷ *EC*, vii, Sk. 95.

² *AR*, 319 of 1915.

charitra Mahādēvarāja did indeed invade the Kākatiya kingdom and laid siege to the capital, Warangal; but Queen Rudrāmbā fought him valiantly for fifteen days during which she destroyed three lakhs of the Sēuṇa infantry and a lakh of cavalry. In the end she completely defeated him in a battle fought under the walls of the fort and put him to flight, pursuing the retreating Sēuṇa forces up to the walls of their capital Dēvagiri. Unable to oppose her advance, Mahādēva sued for peace and, agreeing to pay a crore of gold coins as war indemnity, he concluded a treaty with her. Rudrāmbā distributed the money thus obtained among the commanders of her army, and after setting up a pillar of victory returned to her own kingdom.¹ This account of the Sēuṇa invasion seems at any rate to embody substantial elements of fact. The vast numbers of Sēuṇa infantry and cavalry said to have been slain by Rudrāmbā in the battle may doubtless be dismissed as exaggeration; but the epigraphic and numismatic evidence available bears witness to the essentially authentic character of the narrative of the *Pratāpacharitra*. Two interesting facts so far ignored by scholars may be taken into consideration in this context. An inscription found at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State and dated Ś. 1189 (A.D. 1267) registers a gift of land to the temple of the Chhāyā-Sōmanātha of that place by Śārṅgapāṇidēva, son of the Sēuṇa king, Siṅghaṇa, a subordinate of Kākatiya Manuma-Rudradēva, who is Rudrāmbā.² We also learn from another epigraph at Hire-Kōgilūr in the Channagiri *tāluk* of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State dated Ś. 1190 (A.D. 1268) that this Śārṅgapāṇidēva was the father of Mahādēva.³ The fact that Śārṅgapāṇidēva, the father of Mahādēva, was compelled to accept service under Rudrāmbā and enrol himself as one of her vassals clearly indicates that the Sēuṇa king must have suffered a defeat, and thus the account in the *Pratāpacharitra* is confirmed. Evidently Śārṅgapāṇidēva, who had probably seized the fort of Pānugal during the invasion, was unwilling to surrender it and return to his native country even after the defeat and subsequent retreat of his son. Having realized that under these circumstances it would be impossible for him to exercise independent authority there, he appears to have decided to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kākatiya queen and to pay homage to her as one of her vassals in order to retain the fort in his possession.

The buried treasure which was unearthed in 1922 at Rāchapaṭṇam in the Kaikalur *tāluk* of this Krishna district throws further interesting light on this

¹ *Saiva-prachārīnī-granthamālā* (Warangal), No. 3, pp. 40-41.

² *Corpus*, No. 34.

³ *EC*, vii, Cl. 21. The inscription which traces the descent of Mahādēva is of immense interest.

⁴ *Sevati Śrī Sāmanuśīdā=udayati nripatir=Jaitugiri=tat=svābhūt Jātō=sa Bhīlam=ākhyat=tadann vijayat Siṅghaṇa=Chakravartī tasmāt=Sārṅgapāṇih prati-nripati-bala-brāta vidrāvako=jam vīra Śrī Mahādēvarāja-nripatis=trallōkyam=ākramati.*

As the Śārṅgapāṇi mentioned in this verse never ascended the Sēuṇa throne and as Krishna-Kannara who succeeded his grandfather Siṅghaṇa is ignored altogether, it is obvious that the object of the composer of the *prafasti* embodied in this record is to trace Mahādēva's descent and not to enumerate the names of rulers who preceded him on the throne.

subject. This find consisted of forty-three of the gold coins known as *padma-śaṅkas* bearing the legends *Siṅghaṇa*, *Kaṇhapa*, *Mahādēva*, and *Śrī Rāma* in the *Dēvanāgarī* script.¹ Attempts have been made on the evidence of these coins to build up a theory supporting the existence of *Sēuṇa* rule over the coastal *Āndhra* country at this time.² Any such theory is, however, utterly untenable. No territorial claims can be put forward on the evidence of the place where the treasure trove has been found. Coins are remarkably migratory; they often travel vast distances from the places where they were minted.³ And it is in fact by no means unlikely that the hoard of *Sēuṇa* coins discovered at *Rāchapatṇam* actually represents a part of the money which *Rudrāmbā*, according to the *Pratāpacharitraṃ*, received from *Mahādēva* as war indemnity and distributed among the officers of her army.

Very early in her reign *Rudramadēvī* seems to have recovered a part of the territory conquered by the *Pāṇḍyas* in the course of their invasion in A.D. 1263. Though no definite information is at present available about the events which took place at this time, yet the provenance of the inscriptions of *Rudramadēvī* and her subordinates in the eastern part of the *Cuddapah* and *Nellore* districts bears ample testimony to the triumph of the *Kākatīya* arms in this region. An epigraph at *Nandalūr* in the *Rajampeta tāluk* of the *Cuddapah* district registering a gift to the temple of *Saumyanāthasvāmi* at that place by *Nāgarāja*, the *pradhāni* of the *Gaṇḍapēṇḍēra Jannigadēva*, shows that the *Kāyasthas* had displaced the *Pāṇḍyas* in that neighbourhood as early as Ś. 1186 *Raktākshi* (A.D. 1264);⁴ another record at *Aṭlūru* in the *Siddhavatam tāluk* of the same district dated Ś. 1190 *Prabhava* (A.D. 1268) indicates that the *Kāyastha* success was not temporary but involved the permanent dislodgement of the *Pāṇḍyas* from that area.⁵ This second inscription is unfortunately damaged, and the name of the chieftain at whose instance it was set up is lost; but the titles, *Maṇḍalika brahmarākshasa*, and *Gaṇḍapēṇḍēra* coupled with the date of the record leave no room for doubt that the ruler mentioned in it was in fact none other than *Jannigadēva*.

Vīra Rājendra Chōla who, as we have seen, was ruling at *Nellore* from Ś. 1185 to 1190 (A.D. 1263-8) was ousted from power by a certain *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nāgadēva Mahārāja*, a vassal of *Rudradēva Mahārāja*, who is *Rudramadēvī*. Evidently *Rudramadēvī* had effected the conquest of *Nellore* and the surrounding territory, and had placed *Nāgadēva Mahārāja* in charge of its government. His rule lasted there for a period of five years from Ś. 1193 to 1197 (A.D. 1271-5),⁶ at the end of which time he was compelled to retire northwards into the southern marches of *Kamma-nāḍu*, where he

¹ *JRASB*, xxi, Numismatic Supplement, No. xxxiv, pp. 6 ff.

² *EI*, xxiii, 193, n. 2.

³ Hoards of Roman coins have been discovered in several places in South India; similarly *E. Chālukya* coins bearing the legend *Chālukya Chandra* (*Saktivarman I*) have been unearthed in Burma. It would be ridiculous to argue on the evidence of these that the authority of the Roman emperors or of *Saktivarman I* extended over South India and Burma respectively.

⁴ *AR*, 610 of 1907.

⁵ *AR*, 1 of 1939-40.

⁶ *NI*, A. 31, KV. 48, and N. 21.

continued as governor at Maṇikēśvaram and in its neighbourhood in the Ongole *tāluk* of the Guntur district until Ś. 1202 (A.D. 1280).¹ It would appear that he was displaced by Tribhuvanachakravarti Irumaḍi (Immaḍi) Tirukālattidēva, or Tirukālattidēva II, of whom a record dated in his second regnal year, corresponding to Ś. 1201 (A.D. 1279), was found at Maḍamanūr in the Gudur *tāluk* less than twenty miles to the south of Nellore.² He was the eldest son of Manuma Siddhi II,³ the Telugu Chōḷa king of Nellore who suffered death on the battlefield of Muttukūr during the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1263. His antecedents are, however, completely unknown to us. How he managed to expel the Kākatiya governor from Nellore and to re-occupy his ancestral territory cannot be ascertained definitely in the present state of knowledge. Though his title Tribhuvanachakravarti is suggestive of independent status, he was probably no more than an instrument in the hands of some external power hostile to the Kākatiyas and cherishing designs on the Nellore country. An interesting fact which has so far escaped the attention of historians may well be noticed here. Irumaḍi Tirukālattidēva's attack on Nellore synchronized with Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's invasion of the Kāyastha dominions, as is shown by an epigraph at Nandalūr dated in his 29th regnal year (A.D. 1278-9).⁴ We may remind ourselves at this point that the whole of the Gudur *tāluk* of the Nellore district and parts of the Chittoor district comprising Kālahasti and Tirupati were included in Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's possessions.⁵ It is not unlikely that Tirukālattidēva's attack on Nellore was somehow connected with Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's invasion of the Kāyastha territory. How long after Ś. 1201 (A.D. 1279) Irumaḍi Tirukālattidēva continued to rule at Nellore is not known; his rule probably lasted until Ś. 1204, when he was succeeded by Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla, obviously another Telugu Chōḷa chief, whose relationship with Irumaḍi, however, cannot be determined owing to the lack of any evidence.

Ambadēva: Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's attack on the Kāyastha dominion was not perhaps an isolated act of aggression; probably it was part of an organized attempt made by the Pāṇḍyas to recover the territory recently taken from them by the Kākatiya queen and her Kāyastha feudatories. Beside Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, Kōpperuñjīṅga and other Pāṇḍyan feudatories joined the expedition and marched against the Kāyastha country under the command of Kuḷaśēkhara who had come to power in A.D. 1268. The attack naturally brought them into conflict with Ambadēva, the ambitious and powerful Kāyastha chief, who had succeeded his brother Tripurātidēva I in A.D. 1272. He seems to have

¹ NI, O. 75.

² JTA, xvii, pp. 223; AR. 213 of 1893; SII, iv, 661.

³ NI, G. 45.

⁴ AR, No. 423 of 1911.

⁵ NI, G. 57, 67, 69, 74, 75, 80, 91, 116; s. 3, 8, and 19. The latest regnal year quoted in these records is the 27th (A.D. 1276-7) (G. 80). The Tirupati inscriptions are mostly fragmentary and undated (TDI, i, Nos. 59 (9th year), 61 (4th year), 63, 67, 68, 69, 72, 76, 77 and 79).

resolved almost at the very outset of his career to resuscitate the fortunes of his family, which were then at a low ebb, and to carve out an independent kingdom for himself. In pursuance of these two objects, he was constantly engaged in warfare with his neighbours during his long reign of thirty-two years. Am̐badēva would seem to have forsworn his allegiance to the Kākatiya queen almost from the very beginning of his rule, since no mention is made of an overlord in any of his inscriptions. His achievements are fully set forth in an epigraph at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti (A.D. 1290).¹ In the first part of the inscription, which is entirely in Sanskrit verse, Am̐badēva is said to have conquered a chief of the name of Śrīpati Gaṇapati and to have assumed the title *Rāyasahasramalla* which had been borne by him; he is also said to have cut off the heads of seventy-five kings, to have beheaded Ēṇuva Mallidēva in battle, and assisted by twelve *kṣhōṇi-maṇḍalikas*, to have put to flight Kēśava together with Sōmidēva and Allugaṅga; he killed Mallikārjuna, the enemy of gods and brāhmins; he gave his daughter in marriage to Rājanna, the son of king Bollaya, and conferred on him, probably as a marriage portion, the territory in the neighbourhood of Nandanapura; he also defeated all the Āndhra kings and thereby acquired fame, and he re-established Manuma-Gaṇḍa-gōpāla who had been deprived of his kingship by his own followers at Vikramasīrhapura (Nellore); and finally he churned the ocean of his enemies from which he obtained troops of horses and elephants, wealth, and immortal renown as well as the *Pāṇḍya-kalpa-drumas* or wish-yielding trees, that is to say the (five) Pāṇḍyas. The long *prasaṁsi* in Sanskrit prose forming the second part of the record enumerates several *birudas* or titles of Am̐badēva, some of which are important because they refer to real events which actually took place during the course of his career. Of these the titles (1) *Rāyasahasramalla* (the wrestler with thousand kings), (2) *Ēṇuva-Mallidēvani-tala-gōṇḍu-gaṇḍa* (the hero who had taken the head of Ēṇuva Mallidēva), (3) *Praty-anika-prāsādāya-māna-Kulaśēkhara-gaṇḍa* (the hero who vanquished Kulaśēkhara who made the opposing army his own palace), (4) *Dēvagiri-rāya prasthāpita-prābhṛita-maṇi-kanaka-bhūṣaṇa* (he who is adorned with ornaments of gold and gems sent as gifts by the king of Dēvagiri), (5) *Mallikārjuna-saptāṅga-haraṇa* (confiscator of the seven constituent members of Mallikārjuna's royalty), (6) *Kāḍavarāya-vidhvāṁsana* (destroyer of the Kāḍava king), and (7) *Ati Pāṇḍava-Parākama-Pāṇḍya-rājanya-priya-prēṣita chaṇḍa vētanda Vainatēya-jamghāla-turaṅga-sārtha-virājamāna saṁpōṣhita-sauhārda* (he whose friendship is nourished by the fierce elephants and the horses fleet as Vainatēya (that is Garuḍa) sent with affection by the (five) Pāṇḍya kings who have surpassed the Pāṇḍavas in valour) deserve particular attention. They not only confirm some of the statements made in the earlier part of the inscription but also furnish much fresh information which finds no place in it. The information contained in this record is of immense importance, since it throws considerable light on

¹ AR, 268 of 1905; III, x, 465, 599.

certain events of the reign of Rudrāmbā which had previously been shrouded in obscurity. The chronological sequence in which they occurred cannot, however, be ascertained with perfect certainty, though it is not altogether impossible to determine it roughly from the data which we find in other records of the period.

Ambadēva seems to have come very early in his career into conflict with the Kākatīya feudatories who owed allegiance to the queen. The first enemy whom he vanquished, according to the Tripurāntakam epigraph mentioned above, was a chief named Śrīpati Gaṇapati who bore the title *Rāya-sahasramalla*. From the fact that he is spoken of as 'Gurindāla-Gaṇādhipa' in Ambadēva's Nilagaṅgavaram inscription,¹ it may be surmised that he was the ruler of Gurindāla, that is Gurijāla in the Palnad *tāluk* of the Guntur district. This is confirmed by the evidence of another inscription at Mutukūr in the neighbourhood of Gurijāla dated Ś. 1190 Vibhava (A.D. 1268) in which it is stated that Śrīpati Gaṇapati was then ruling at Gurindāla, obviously as a vassal of Rudradēva Mahārāja (Rudrāmbā); for according to another inscription engraved on the same stone on the same day, the local Vīra Balaṅja community had at the same time made a gift to a temple in the village on behalf of the queen.² Evidently Queen Rudrāmbā and Śrīpati Gaṇapati were both ruling over the district at the time, the former as sovereign lady and the latter as her vassal. The title (*Rāya*)*sahasramalla* which Śrīpati Gaṇapati bore throws light on the past history of this leader. It would appear to have appertained originally to a certain Mahādevaṛāja who was ruling over a part of Palnāḍu in Ś. 1170 Kīlaka (A.D. 1258).³ The designation of *Rāya-daṇḍādhipati* which he bore in addition to the title *sahasramalla* seems to show that he had once held a command in the royal army under Gaṇapati. Mahādevaṛāja was probably one of the recalcitrant Kākatīya nobles who had opposed Rudradēvi's coronation. It is not unlikely that Śrīpati Gaṇapati, who was loyal to the queen, took up her cause and attacked and defeated him, and that he then appropriated his enemy's title as well as his estate. The circumstances in which he came into conflict with Ambadēva are not known. But he was certainly worsted in the battle which took place in A.D. 1273 and Ambadēva then seized his possessions and appropriated his title as a token of his own victory.⁴ Ambadēva's victory over Śrīpati Gaṇapati led of course to his conflict with the Kākatīya queen. She seems to have sent a powerful army against him and to have made an unsuccessful attempt to put down his rebellion; for the seventy-five princes whose heads he claims to have cut off in battle are without doubt the seventy-five *nāyaks* in her service. It must not, however, be supposed that Ambadēva was actually involved in a fight with all the seventy-five *nāyaks* whom he is said to have put to death by cutting off their heads.

¹ EI, xxv, 227.

² AR, 87 and 87-A of 1929-30.

³ AR, 91 of 1929-30.

⁴ AR, 168 of 1905; SII, x, 432. Ambadēva is referred to in this inscription as *Śrīman-mahā-sahasramalla-maṇḍalēvara*, &c.

Āmbadēva's claim of success is expressed in exaggerated language and must not be taken literally. The seventy-five *nāyaks* in this context should doubtless be understood as representing the whole of the Kākatīya army and the cutting off of their heads perhaps really means no more than that he was in fact victorious over them.

Some time after his victory over the Kākatīya army Āmbadēva concerted measures to reconquer the ancestral territories of his family which had been under the occupation of the Kalukāḍa chiefs ever since the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1263. Although the Kalukāḍas were strongly supported by their ally and kinsman, Allu Gaṅga the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Jagatāpi Gutti, now Gutti in the Anantapur district in the Āndhra Pradesh, they seem to have felt that they could not by themselves successfully withstand the Kāyastha attack and therefore sought the help of the Pāṇḍyas who were at this time masters of the whole of South India. In response to his request, Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and Kōpperuñjiṅga were commissioned by the Pāṇḍyas, as recorded above, to march with their forces to the north and to help the Kalukāḍa princes to defend their possessions. They set out with their troops in A.D. 1278-9 and reached the frontier in due course. They seem to have met Āmbadēva's army somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nandalūr. In the engagement that followed they suffered a defeat; Kōpperuñjiṅga was killed,¹ and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla withdrew into his own kingdom where he seems to have died during the course of the same year. Soon after this victory, an opportunity presented itself to Āmbadēva which enabled him to extend his sway as far as Nellore in the east. Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla, obviously a prince of the Telugu Chōḷa lineage, who had been driven out of his kingdom by his followers, sought his help. He immediately marched to Nellore at the head of his army, and having put down Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla's enemies re-established him on his throne. The date of Āmbadēva's intervention in the affairs of Nellore is not definitely known. It took place probably in A.D. 1282, in which year, according to the evidence of Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla's inscriptions, he began his reign.²

¹ In his Tripurāntakam inscription dated Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290) (*AR*, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465) Āmbadēva claims to have slain the Kāḍavarāya (*Kāḍavarāya-vidhvamsana*). The term *vidhvamsana* has been taken to mean defeat; and the event is said to have taken place in Ś. 1184 (A.D. 1261-2 (?)) during Kōpperuñjiṅga's inroad into Vēṅgi (*SII*, xii, *Introd.* xiii, n. 10). Now the term *vidhvamsana* does not denote defeat as it is supposed to do here, but rather destruction, ruin, or death. Āmbadēva succeeded his brother Tripurāridēva only in A.D. 1272 and nothing is known of him, as far as the available evidence goes, before that date. It is not therefore reasonable to suppose that Āmbadēva, some ten years before his accession, met Kōpperuñjiṅga in battle at Vēṅgi and inflicted a defeat on him. The incident could have taken place only after Āmbadēva came to power and indeed during Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla's invasion in A.D. 1278-9; and as this also happens to have been the last year of Kōpperuñjiṅga's rule, his death in the battle with Āmbadēva seems to be more than probable.

² An inscription of Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla at Koḍavalūr, in the Kovur *tāluk* of the Nellore district (*NI*, N. 51, p. 794) couples Ś. 1206 with his 3rd regnal year. It is evident that the initial year of his rule began in Ś. 1204 (A.D. 1282-3).

The Pāṇḍyas did not, however, give up their designs on the Kāyastha dominions. The defeat of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla and Aṁbadēva's interference in the internal politics of the kingdom of Nellore spurred them on to make a fresh effort to reconquer the southern Āndhra country and to crush the Kāyastha ruler who was causing so much trouble on their northern frontier. The Pāṇḍyan army led by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (*acc.* A.D. 1276), Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (*acc.* A.D. 1270),¹ and Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (*acc.* A.D. 1268) marched into Pottapināḍu in A.D. 1282-3, while Aṁbadēva was probably still busy with the affairs of Nellore, as is shown by an inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya dated in his 13th regnal year, at Lēpāka in the Rajampet *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district.² An epigraph at Guṇḍlūru in the same locality dated Ś. 1284 Tāraṇa (A.D. 1282-3) of Sōmidēva, the brother obviously of Kēśavadēva of Kalukaḍa, leaves no room for doubt that the Kalukaḍa chiefs joined the invaders.³ The provenance of the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in the Lēpāka-Nandalūr region shows that the rule of the Pāṇḍyas in this part of the country lasted for about five years during which time Pillai Pallavarāyan of Tuṅjalūr in the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam was in charge of its administration.⁴ No definite information is available about Aṁbadēva's activities during this period. As a matter of fact he is not represented by a single inscription between the dates Ś. 1194 (A.D. 1272-3) and Ś. 1209. But curiously enough an epigraph at Akkāreḍḍipalli in the Badvel *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district dated Ś. 1205 Svabhānu (A.D. 1283) refers to Gaṇḍapendēra Tripurāridēva Mahārāja as the ruling monarch and records the construction of a temple of Śiva by Gaurēśvarabāyammaṅgāru for the worship of Gōṣṭrīṅgēśvara enshrined therein.⁵ His relationship with Aṁbadēva and the circumstances in which he came to 'rule the earth' in the middle of Aṁbadēva's reign are not easy to understand. The Government epigraphist is inclined to believe that he was identical with Aṁbadēva's elder brother, though it is equally possible that he may have been his son and successor Tripurāri II.⁶ It may also be noted here that about this time Aṁbadēva lost the Ēruva country which he had to reconquer a few years later. He very probably came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyas and was defeated by them, as a consequence of which disorders broke out in his dominions and he temporarily lost control over the government. However that may be, it is certain that Aṁbadēva gathered his forces together and attacked the Pāṇḍyas in A.D. 1286, and that he inflicted a defeat on Māravarman Kulaśēkhara who had come to oppose him at the head of a powerful army, as a consequence of which the elephants and horses and all the equipment in the Pāṇḍyan camp fell into his hands.⁷ The Pāṇḍyas then appear to have retired from the Kāyastha territory, leaving

¹ Sewell, *HI*, p. 379.

² *AR*, 423 of 1911. See Sewell, *HI*, p. 379, *ARE*, 1922, p. 92, for the date of the accession of the king.

³ *AR*, 622 of 1907.

⁴ *AR*, 590, 591, 592, 593, and 614 of 1907.

⁵ *AR*, 26 of 1941-2.

⁶ *ARE*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, ii, para. 76.

⁷ *AR*, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465; *EI*, xxv.

Ambadēva free to deal with his other enemies. He first turned against the Kalukaḍa chiefs, Kēśavadēva and Sōmidēva, and having vanquished them in battle together with their ally Allu Gaṅga, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Jagatāpi Gutti, won back from them all the Kāyastha country including the capital Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa which had been in their possession ever since the Pāṇḍyan invasion of A.D. 1263. He made Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa the headquarters of his government and strengthened and occupied Gaṇḍikōṭa-Manōrathapura, a strong hill-fort which commands the gorge through which the river Pennār forces its way into the plains below. Having thus destroyed the power of the Kalukaḍa chiefs and their allies and made himself master of the territories under their rule, Ambadēva next proceeded against Manu-Mallidēva, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Ēruva, who appears to have still defied his authority. Though two records of Manu-Mallidēva, both dated probably in Ś. 1189 Prabhava (A.D. 1267-8), are found at Tripurāntakam, they do not mention an overlord or reveal his political affiliations.¹ Very probably he was a Kākatiya vassal owing allegiance to Rudrāmbā and perhaps it was his loyalty to the queen that brought him into conflict with Ambadēva. Manu-Mallidēva could not withstand Ambadēva's power, and in the conflict which followed between them he was killed and his possessions passed into the hands of the victor. After thus reducing Ēruva, Ambadēva proceeded against Peṇḍekallu (Peḍakallu), a tract of country comprising the old Baṅgānipalle State and the Dhona *tāluk* of the Kurnool district which lay in its neighbourhood to the west. To ensure the success of his enterprise, Ambadēva formed an alliance with a chief named Bollaya and to strengthen the bonds of friendship bestowed on Bollaya's son Rājanna the hand of his daughter together with the territory adjoining Nandanapura (Nandavaram in the Baṅgānipalle State) as her dowry. Ambadēva's attack on Peṇḍekallu did not go unchallenged. Queen Rudrāmbā seems to have sent an army to oppose his advance and frustrate his attempt. The princes of the whole of the Āndhra country who, according to his Tripurāntakam inscription, met him in battle somewhere in that neighbourhood were without doubt her feudatories;² but in the combat which followed Ambadēva was successful; 'he vanquished', in the language of the inscription, 'all the kings of Āndhra and acquired glory'. As a result of this victory the whole of Peṇḍekallu up to the river Kṛishṇā passed into his hands, and he became the master of an extensive kingdom. Ambadēva was then at the height of his power. According to an inscription dated Ś. 1209 Sarvajit (A.D. 1287) found at Attirāla in the Rajampet *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district, he ruled from his capital Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa at that time all the countries of Gaṇḍikōṭa, Mulikināḍu, Rēnāṇḍu, Peṇḍekallu, Sakili, Ēruva, and Pottapināḍu.³ His authority extended probably as far west as Gutti in the Anantapur district. One of the verses in the Tripurāntakam inscription seems almost to

¹ AR, 189 and 190 of 1905; *SII*, x, 417 and 418.

² AR, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465.

³ AR, 406 of 1911; *SII*, x, 448.

suggest that the fort was under his protection.¹ He was served by a circle of twelve vassal princes and the rulers of the neighbouring states dispatched to his court elephants, horses, costly jewels, and other valuable gifts.²

The good fortune which had smiled on Am̐badēva since the beginning of his career deserted him in the latter part of his reign. The tide at last turned against him. He met in Kumāra Rudradēva, the heir apparent to the Kākatiya throne, a foe who proved more than a match for him. Kumāra Rudradēva was a grandson of Rudramadēvī—the son of her daughter Mummadamma and her husband Mahādēva—whom she had adopted as her son and appointed as heir apparent.³ By the time that Am̐badēva succeeded his elder brother Tripurāri I in A.D. 1272, Kumāra Rudradēva appears to have been fully adult. According to one tradition preserved in the *Telugurājula-charitramu*, he was born in Ś. 1166 (obviously a mistake for Ś. 1176) Ānanda (A.D. 1234).⁴ This is not unlikely, since he is mentioned in the Mālkāpuram inscription of Rudramadēvī, dated Ś. 1183 Durmati (A.D. 1261).⁵ Ever since he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, he had made the rehabilitation of the kingdom his sole aim, and to achieve his purpose, had, if tradition can be depended on, reorganized the military force of the kingdom and had strengthened the *nāyankara* system which appears to have lost its vigour and efficiency during the previous administration. Am̐badēva was not unaware of the danger threatening the security of his kingdom, and he took necessary steps to defend his possessions as soon as the danger took a concrete shape. Considering that his army, notwithstanding its strength and its tradition of continuous victory on several fields of battle, was unequal to coping with the Kākatiya forces, he entered into an alliance with the Sēuṇas and the Pāṇdyas, the hereditary foes of the Kākatiyas. The former, according to his Tripurāntakam and Nilagaṅgavaram inscriptions dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti (A.D. 1290-1), merely sent him only presents of golden jewels set with gems presumably intended as tokens of their goodwill; but the latter showed their friendship by the dispatch of fierce elephants and fleet-footed horses as auxiliary forces to his assistance.⁶ This is corroborated by the evidence of three inscriptions at Nandalūr, one dated in the 15th and the other two in the 17th regnal year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II corresponding respectively to (Ś. 1208)

¹ *SII*, x, 465. *Dāstambha sambhṛta jagatraya-guṇṭim-ānam*
Dharmarya harmyam-iva jāṅgamaṁ-Am̐badēvam
A-Chandramā cha Ravi rakṣatu Mīru-dhamā
Gaurim-iva śrīta-tanu-Tripura-pramāthi.

Jagatraya-guṇṭi is obviously a Sanskritization of the vernacular name Jagatāpi Gutti.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Pratāpurudra-yatōbhūchānam* (Nāṭaka Prakaraṇam).

⁴ *JAHRS*, vi, 168.

⁵ *AR*, 94 of 1917; *SII*, x, 393:

Śrī Viśvānara-dēvika-ānandra-tiva-(-śrī-)hastō-ri dōri-vikramas-
Triśhūṇṭa-jagaddalaḥ pratibala-pradhvamasi-jann-ōtsavaḥ
Yaryāḥ Kākati-varṇa-mauktika-maḥ(-iḥ) Śrī Rudradēvas-ntas
Taryāḥ kim kathayāma vaiḍhavam-ata Śrī Rudradēvāḥ param.

⁶ *AR*, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465; *EL*, xxv, pp. 270 f.

Vyaya, and (Ś. 1214) Nandana (A.D. 1279-92), which seem to indicate the presence of friendly Pāṇḍyan troops in the Kāyastha dominions.¹

When Kumāra Rudradēva, having completed his preparations for war, felt that he could take the field confident of victory, he proceeded most carefully to draw up his plans for the invasion. He was well aware that an attack upon Am̐badēva would also involve him in a war with his allies, and it was his object to isolate Am̐badēva from these allies and so to deal with each of them separately. Keeping this object in view, he concerted measures to launch a three-pronged attack on Am̐badēva's territories and at the same time to dispatch separate expeditions against his allies. In A.D. 1291 Queen Rudrāmbā set out for Tripurāntakam to attack Am̐badēva, accompanied by a large army under Manuma-Gannaya, son of Kolani Sōmamantri, and his cousin Annaya-dēva, son of Indulūri Peda Gannayamantri. No details of the ensuing conflict are recorded. It is, however, certain that Am̐badēva was defeated and retreated southwards into Mulikināḍu; for according to the *Śivayōgasāram* the Kolani and Indulūri chiefs mentioned above, inspired by the valiant leadership of Rudramadēvī, dispersed the dispositions of the enemy's forces, and captured seventy-two forts during a single onslaught.² As a result of this victory, Tripurāntakam and the surrounding country passed into the hands of Rudramadēvī, who concerted measures for re-establishing her authority firmly over the district. The exact date of the reconquest of the region is not definitely known; but a comparative study of the various Kāyastha and Kākatīya inscriptions found in the locality points to the middle of A.D. 1291 as the probable time when it was effected.³ The attack on Cheṛaku Rājanarēndra by the Chālukyan chief, Tāta Pinnama, ancestor of the later Āreviḍu family, which took place at this time, was apparently connected with Rudramadēvī's Tripurāntakam expedition. Rājanarēndra was probably a vassal and ally of Am̐badēva; he is referred to in the Telugu *Dvipada Bālabhāgavatam* of Dōnēru Kōnērunātha as perpetrator of all kinds of evil deeds.⁴ Tāta Pinnama appears to have been a contemporary of Kumāra Rudradēva; and it is not unlikely that he proceeded against the Cheṛaku chief at the instance of Rudradēva and put an end to his evil career. It is interesting to note that the Cheṛakus who make their appearance in the inscriptions in the Nandikotkur

¹ *AR*, nos. 390, 394, and 388 of 1907.

² *Śivayōgasāram*. Part I. Introduction:

Ahavamuna vāru rīpulu

Vyūham̐bulu baḍalu-paracki-yokkaka-gonarē

Bāhattari-durgambulu

Sāhasulai Rudram-āmba sauryamu katanan.

³ The latest record of Am̐badēva at Tripurāntakam (*AR*, 173 of 1905; *SII*, x, 466) is dated on Wednesday, 6u. di. 15, Nijja (Adhika-?)-Āshāḍha, Khara, Ś. 1213 (Wednesday, 13 June, A.D. 1291). The earliest Kākatīya inscription, which is that of Indulūri Annaya(Annala)dēva (*AR*, 238 of 1905, *SII*, x, 467) and of Manuma-Gannaya (*AR*, 239 of 1905), is dated on Ma. (Mandavāra) at the time of the lunar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa, Khara Ś. 1213 (Saturday, 11 August, A.D. 1291). It is obvious that Tripurāntakam and its neighbourhood must have changed hands between 13 June and 11 August, A.D. 1291.

⁴ *Bhārati*, vi, 848.

tāluk of the Kurnool district from 1212 Śaka (A.D. 1290-1) onwards invariably figure as vassals of the Kākatiya monarch owing allegiance to Kumāra Rudradēva (or Pratāparudradēva as he had come to be generally known by this time). The earliest record of the Cheraku family is found at Malyāla in the Nandikotkur *tāluk* of the Kurnool district and is dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti; it refers to Rudradēva, son of *Mahāsāmanta* Cheraku Bollaya Redḍi as a feudatory of Kākati Rudrakumāra, who is Kumāra Rudradēva.¹ This chieftain is very probably identical with Rācha Rudradēva, son of *Mahāsāmanta* Cheraku Vēlūru Bollaya Redḍi, who is mentioned as a vassal of Kākati Pratāparudradēva in another inscription found at Liṅgāla in the same *tāluk* and district and dated Ś. 1213 Nandana (A.D. 1293).² Though it is tempting to identify Rāja Rudradēva with Rājanarēndra, the enemy of Tāta Pinnama, the available evidence does not lend itself to any definite conclusion about this. For the present, the connexion of Rājanarēndra with the Cheraku chiefs mentioned above must remain uncertain, though all these notables were undoubtedly members of the same family.

While Rudramadēvī and Tāta Pinnama were engaging Ambadēva and the Cherakus in the west, Aḍidam Mallu, the *sakala-sēnādhipati* and the right-hand man (*dakṣiṇa-bhujā-danḍa*) of Pratāparudra marched southwards along the coast towards Vikramasiriṅhapattṇa (Nellore), where Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla, the protégé of Ambadēva whom he had re-established on his throne in A.D. 1282, was still ruling, with the object of preventing him from joining forces with his patron or sending him military assistance. Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla opposed the advance of the Kākatiya army and was killed in the encounter, whereupon Aḍidam Mallu assumed the title of *Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla-sīraḥ-khaṇḍana* (he who cut off the head of Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla) as a token of his victory.³ The date of Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla's encounter with the Kākatiya general and his subsequent death in the battle is not known; but since a certain Madhurāntaka Pottapi Chōḍa Raṅganātha, otherwise known as Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla, who succeeded him on the throne of Nellore, began his rule, as is evident from his inscriptions, in Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290), it may be confidently asserted that the Kākatiya invasion and Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla's death took place in that year.

The circumstances in which Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla ascended the throne of Nellore are obscure. Perhaps he owed his enthronement to the support of the Kākatiya monarch. If so, the choice proved most unwise; for Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla showed himself to be a treacherous ally; he soon joined hands with the Pāṇḍyas and turned against his benefactor. To chastise him for his perfidy, it became necessary to send a second expedition to Nellore and this naturally led to a war with the Pāṇḍyas. The command of the army was entrusted to Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla, a Telugu Chōḷa feudatory of Pratāparudra—not to be confused with his namesake, the protégé of Ambadēva who was killed

¹ *AR*, 321 of 1937-8.

² *Ibid.*, 35 of 1943-4.

³ *Ibid.*, 179 of 1905; *SH*, x, 479.

in the previous expedition—and the ruler of a tract of territory in the neighbourhood of Narasārāopēṭ in the Guntur district. When Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla approached Nellore at the head of his army Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla and his Pāṇḍyan allies offered stout opposition to him; nevertheless they seem to have been defeated, for according to the Narasārāopēṭ inscription of Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla dated Ś. 1219 Hēvalambī (A.D. 1297) he 'drank up like the *baḍabānala* or submarine fire the ocean of the Drāviḍa (Pāṇḍya) army, and Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla and his allies too were disgraced before him'.¹

Another expedition under Gōṇa Viṭṭhala set out about the same time, apparently from Vardhamānapura, the present Vaḍḍamānu in the Mahaboobnagar district and the headquarters of the Gōṇa family, and invaded the Sēuṇa territory on the western frontier of the Kākatīya kingdom. The Manuma-Gaṇḍagōpāla of Narasārāopēṭ mentioned above, and Prōli Nāyaka, son of Nallappa Nāyaka, two chiefs who bear the respective titles of *Sēuṇa-kaṭaka-vēṇu-kabaḷana-dāva-pāvaka* (one who is like the wild fire enveloping the bamboos, meaning the army of the Sēuṇas) and *Sēuṇa-lavaṇi-paṇchāna* (a mistake for *Sēuṇa-hariṇa-paṇchānana*, he who is as a lion to the deer, i.e. the Sēuṇa) obviously joined the expedition and both won distinction on the field of battle.² Some of the important events which had taken place during the invasion are recorded in an inscription describing his achievements set up by Gōṇa Viṭṭhala in the fort of Rāichūr and dated Ś. 1216 Jaya (A.D. 1294). According to this inscription, Viṭṭhala captured the forts of Ādavāni and Tumbujam in the old Bellary district of the undivided Madras State, together with Mānuva and Hājuva in the Rāichūr *doāb*. After reducing to subjection the chiefs who held sway over this region, Viṭṭhala finally entered the city of Rāichūr, where he erected a strong fort to protect the country and its inhabitants from further incursions.³ It is obvious that Viṭṭhala must have wrested the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadra *doāb* from the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, and taken steps to prevent its reconquest by fortifying Rāichūr, from which he could effectively control the entire region.

The expedition against the Sēuṇas described above would appear to have been the last military enterprise of Rudramadēvi's reign; for the queen seems to have died in Ś. 1217 (A.D. 1295), some time after the conquest of the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadra *doāb* and the construction of the fort at Rāichūr. Rudramadēvi was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the rulers of the Āndhra country. Though a woman, she did not allow the difficulties attaching to her sex to obstruct her in the discharge of the duties of her exalted office, and by her conduct of affairs fully justified the male name Rudradēva, which her father had conferred on her. She took an active part in the government of the country; attired in male garments she daily presided over the durbar,

¹ *SII*, iv, 661: '*Drāviṣa-bala-vārdhi-pariṣhapa-baḍabānala*', '*Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla-vihit-ākṣita-māna-bhaṇṭa*'.

² *SII*, iv, 661; *JTA*, v, 223 ff.; and *Āndhra Patrika*, 1922, Sunday edn.

³ *Kākatīya Samichika*, App. 33, pp. 84-85.

gave interviews to foreigners, listened to the reports of the secret service, held consultations with her ministers, generals, and other high dignitaries of state and advised all these how they should act to promote the best interests of the state. On occasions of emergency she did not hesitate to take the field in person to lead her troops against the enemy. She was not only a valiant and courageous fighter but also showed great ability as a general especially in the war with the Sēuṇa king Mahādēva, who invaded her kingdom fully confident that he could easily vanquish an army led by a woman. In spite of the wars which frequently disturbed the country, her people remained contented and happy under her rule.

Vassals, Ministers, and officials of Rudramadēvi: The Malyālas, the Gōnas, and Rēcheṅṅas, the great feudatory families who played such an important part in the early history of the Kākatīyas, appear at this time to have ceased to take much active interest in the affairs of the kingdom. Although Malyāla Guṇḍa, who had been a general under Rudradēva (Rudrāmbā), was alive until Ś. 1196 (A.D. 1274), he seems to have been living in retirement, taking no part in the stirring events which shook the kingdom to its foundations during the first decade of the queen's reign. His sons and other members of his family were now interested more in the construction of temples and the excavation of irrigation tanks and canals than they were in political matters.¹ The Gōnas, however, unlike the Malyālas with whom they had intermarried, took part enthusiastically in many important military enterprises and rendered valuable help to Kumāra Rudradēva in his reconquest of the Western Āndhra country. The victories of Gōna Gannaya and his general Viṭṭhala over the Sēuṇa armies in the Bellary and Raichur districts and the construction of a strong fort at Rāichūr are of special interest in this connexion. No trace of the Rēcheṅṅas is discernible in the numerous records of the time, though a Velama family of the same name appears to have taken its place as a political influence. The part played by Prasāditya, the son of Chevvi Redḍi or Bētāḷa Nāyaḍu, the founder of this family, has already been noticed. Another member of the family was *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Mummaḍi Nāyaḍu, son of Kontāla Nāgi Nāyaḍu, who held the office of *sakala-sēnādhipati*, supreme commander of all the forces, during the last years of Rudramadēvi's reign.² His exact connexion with the family of Chevvi Redḍi is, however, not ascertainable in the present state of our knowledge.

The Kāyasthas were without doubt the most powerful of Rudramadēvi's feudatories. As their history has already been narrated at some length, any detailed account of it here would be superfluous. But it may be pointed out that they remained steadily true to the queen and supported her stoutly until the accession of Ambadēva in A.D. 1272. There is reason to believe that he

¹ *Corpus*, 50.

² *AR*, 183 of 1905; *SH*, x, 471.

also did not swerve from the path of loyalty until he came to power, but rendered valuable help to his sovereign in suppressing the recalcitrant nobles and in consolidating her position on the throne. The title *Rāja-sihāpanāchārya* which is associated with his name in some of his inscriptions is specially significant here since it indicates unmistakably that the part played by him in the war against the nobles was by no means inconspicuous. The circumstances which finally caused his rebellion against the queen and the assertion of his independence are still extremely obscure, even although the main incidents of his eventful career are for the most part pretty clearly described in the extant records of his time.

The history of the Telugu Chōlas of Nellore who played an important part in inter-state relations owing to the situation of their kingdom at the meeting place of the Pāṇḍya, Kāyastha and the Kākatiya dominions has already been described. Notwithstanding their temporary loss of power after the death of Manuma Siddhi II in the Pāṇḍyan invasion of A.D. 1263, they eventually managed to recover their ancestral possessions as we have seen above, and Raṅganātha, otherwise known as Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla, a grandson of Manuma Siddhi II, was ultimately successful in establishing himself on his grandfather's throne.

Several Kshatriya families ruled in Vēṅgī at this time, but their position in relation to the paramount power is difficult to make out since they never refer to any overlord in their inscriptions. The total absence in Vēṅgī of any Kākatiya records between A.D. 1262 and 1278-9 lends colour to the belief that during this period Rudrāmadēvi had lost control over the country and that the various Kshatriya families mentioned above were exercising independent authority. Two families, the Eastern Chālukyas of Niḍadavōlu and the Haihayas of Kōṇa, deserve special notice here, not so much on account of their political importance and military strength, as because of their relationship to the Kākatiya royal family. To the Niḍadavōlu clan belonged Virabhadra on whom Kākati Gaṇapatidēva bestowed the hand of his daughter Rudramadēvi in marriage. The antecedents of this prince are not clearly known, though some information is furnished in the inscriptions about his parents and family. The earliest of the epigraphs inscribed on one of the pillars in the *maṇṭapa* in front of the Vāsuki-Ravi Sōmēśvara temple at Juttiga, in the Tanuku *tāluk* of the West Gōḍavārī district, is dated Ś. 1181 (A.D. 1257); it records a gift by Vishṇu, the minister of that Virabhadreśvara of the Chālukyan family who married Rudramadēvi, the daughter of the Kākati king Gaṇapati.² Next in point of time comes an inscription found at Pālakol in the Narasapur *tāluk* of the same district and dated Ś. 1186 (A.D. 1264), which registers a gift by Virabhadra's mother Udayāmbā so that he might acquire an increase of religious merit. It is here stated that Virabhadra was the grand-

¹ AR, 268 of 1905; III, x, 465.

² AR, 74 of 1920; III, x, 360.

son of a certain Chālukyan chief Vishṇuvardhana and the son of Induśekhara by his queen Udayāmba.¹ The identity of this Vishṇuvardhana cannot, however, be established, since this name was a title borne in common at this time by almost all the princes of Eastern Chālukyan descent.

Among the vassals of Rudramadēvi there were a good many noblemen of Āre or Mahārāshtra origin. Several families of Āre or Mahārāshtra descent appear to have migrated into the Telugu country from the Western Deccan in pre-Kākatiya times, especially from the region round Kalyāṇi, the capital of the later Chālukyan emperors, and to have settled down in the hilly tracts on the eastern fringe of the Śrīśaila mountains which came to be known subsequently as *Āre-bhūmi* or *Āre-viḍu*, the country or habitat of the Āres. They attached themselves to the Kākatiya kings and rendered notable service in various wars. Vaṇaga and his younger brothers Dāvuḷa and Peddiga, who flourished in the time of Gaṇapatidēva, took part in most of his battles, and the last two perished in a sanguinary fight against unspecified enemies in or before Ś. 1171 (A.D. 1249).² It may be remembered that the Āryas along with the forces of Gaṇapatidēva and Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore had opposed the Pāṇḍyas, and had suffered defeat on the battlefield of Muttukur.³ Among the Āre vassals of Rudramadēvi, Śārngapānidēva, the son of king Śiṅghaṇa and the father of king Mahādēva of Dēvagiri, was beyond doubt the most important of all.⁴ Two other chiefs of Āre descent deserve notice. One of them was Rāṇaka Gōpadēvarāja, mentioned in an epigraph dated Ś. 1195 Śrīmukha (A.D. 1273) found at Guṇḍlapāḍu in Palnad *tāluk* in the Guntur district,⁵ and who held a command in the royal army, as his designation *Rāya-daṇḍādhipati* denotes. The other, Pinnama or Tāta Pinnama, the progenitor of the later Āre-viḍu chiefs, was in all probability a dependant of Kumāra Rudradēva and was employed by him in reducing the Cheraku chiefs to subjection, as we stated above.

The *sāmantas* probably belonged to a different category. They fall into two groups, *sāmantas* properly so called and the *mahā-sāmantas* or the great *sāmantas*. The Kōtagiri plates of Rudramadēvi Ś. 1195 Śrīmukha (A.D. 1273) mention *Sāmanta* Sūra of the Viriyāla family.⁶ *Sāmanta* Pōti Nāyaḍu, the ornament of the Durjaya-*kula*, is referred to in an inscription dated Ś. 1199 Bahudhānya (A.D. 1277) at Rāvipāḍu in the Narasaraopet *tāluk* of the Guntur district.⁷ The names of several *mahā-sāmantas* of the Cheraku family occur in the records of the time. They are found governing parts of the Nandikotkur *tāluk* of the Kurnool district in Ś. 1212-13 (A.D. 1290-1).⁸ How the *sāmantas* and *mahā-sāmantas* differed from the vassals mentioned above, and what their

¹ AR, 509-A of 1893; *SH*, v, 122.

² AR, 16 of 1943-4; ARE, 1943-4 and 1944-5, Part II, para. 24.

³ AR, 361 of 1913.

⁴ *Corpus*, 34.

⁵ AR, 68 of 1929-30.

⁶ HAS, No. 6, p. 9.

⁷ *SH*, x, 442.

⁸ AR, 321, 322 of 1937-8; 22 of 1942-3; and 55 of 1943-4.

status, privileges, and functions were, cannot be accurately determined at present.

Several *mahāpradhānas* of Rudramadēvī and Kumāra Rudradēva make their appearance in the epigraphic records. Amongst these *Mahāpradhāna* Indulūri Annayadēva son of Gannaya deserves mention first as being related by blood to the royal family.¹ Next in importance was *Mahāpradhāna* Pōṅkala Mallaya-Preggaḍa, the *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati* of the queen.² It may be noted that he was the first minister to hold this office subsequent to the death of Gaṇḍa-peṇḍēra Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi in A.D. 1258-9. The post seems to have remained unfilled during the interval for reasons not quite clear to us, and was then revived by the queen after she had become firmly established on the throne. Two other ministers, *Mahāpradhāna* Gaṇapaddēva Mahārāja and *Mahāpradhāna* Gaṅgidēva, were also in the service of the queen. Kumāra Rudradēva, like his grandmother, had his own special ministers.³ Bolla-*sēnāpati*, one of his *mantrins*, is referred to in an epigraph dated Ś. 1212 Vikṛiti (A.D. 1290) found at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district.⁴ Several *mahā-sēnādhipatis* and *sēnāpatīs* and other officers of Rudrāmbā figure in the inscriptions of the reign; but as they have been spoken of elsewhere in the chapter on administration, it is not necessary to give an account of them in this context. However, Bolli Nāyaka, the lord of *Ekkaḍila*-Maḍapalle on the banks of the Gōḍāvarī, who is spoken of as a *vāhinipati* or commander of an army in an epigraph from Pinnali, in the Palnad *tāluk* of the Guntur district dated Ś. 1214 Nandana (A.D. 1292), deserves special mention.⁵ As the term *ekkaḍilu* which is prefixed to the name of Maḍapalle, the village from which Bolli Nāyaka hailed, is the plural of the word *ekkaḍi* or *ekkaṭi*, meaning an unattached warrior, it is reasonable to presume that Bolli Nāyaḍu commanded a battalion of *ekkaḍis*.

The *aṅgarakshas* who are frequently referred to in the inscriptions probably formed a separate corps in the army. Their main duty was to guard the person of the monarch. It would seem that they fell into two groups, those who protected the persons of the queen and the co-regent, and those who guarded the palace. Paruvata Nāyaka, Appana Bolli Nāyaka and Chenna-*sēnādhipati* belonged to the former category, and Ballaya, Kālaya and Vallaya sons of Nili Nāyaka and Bolli Nāyaka, to the latter.⁶ The *aṅgarakshas* were men of standing; they were appointed as commanders in the army and given fiefs under *nāyanakara* tenure like the other officers of the crown.

Rudramadēvī's Family. Rudramadēvī, as we have seen, married the Eastern Chālukya Prince Virabhadra of Niḍadavōlu. She had no male issue but only two daughters Mummaḍamma and Ruyyamma. The former, according to the *Pratāparudra-yaśōbhūshaṇam*, married a certain Mahādēva who is otherwise unknown. To them was born a son called Vīra Rudra or Pratāparudra

¹ *SII*, iv, 1307; *ibid.* x, 394, 467. ² *AR*, no. 321 of 1930-1. ³ *SII*, x, 450, *Tel.-Ins.-Kāś.*, 43.

⁴ *Corpus*, 35.

⁵ *SII*, x, 472.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv, 707, 707, and x, 423, 424, 425, 444.

whom Rudramadēvi, by the command of her father, Gaṇapatidēva, adopted as her son and as heir to the throne. Though called upon while still a youth to share the burden of the government of an extensive kingdom in troublous times, Pratāparudra, as we have seen, rose to the occasion and guided the ship of state with remarkable skill and ability. According to the tradition preserved in the *Pratāpacharitra*, he had a younger brother called Annamadēva, but no trace of this prince's existence is found in any of the contemporary records, although the rulers of the last dynasty of Bastar trace the origin of their family from him. Ruyyamma,¹ the second daughter of Rudramadēvi, was given in marriage to Annaladēva or Annaya son of Gannaya of the Indulūri family.² He was a *mahāpradhāna* and *sēnādhipati* in the service of the queen and rendered her invaluable help in the administration of the kingdom and in the wars which she waged against her enemies.

Pratāparudra

(A.D. 1295-1323)

Pratāparudra ascended the throne of Warangal at the beginning of the year A.D. 1295, on the death of Rudramadēvi towards the close of the preceding year. He was, at the time of his accession, about thirty-five years old; and as he had been associated with his grandmother for several years before her death in the government of the kingdom, he had already a great deal of military and administrative experience. As a result of the wars which he had conducted during the last years of the late queen, the enemies of the kingdom had been thoroughly subdued, and none dared to lift up his head against the energetic young monarch after his accession. Tradition has it that as soon as he ascended the throne he set about reorganizing the administrative system with a view to strengthening the defences of the kingdom. It is said that Pratāparudra recruited exclusively from the Velama community seventy-seven *nāyaks*, assigned them territories, and entrusted to each of them the defence of one of the seventy-seven bastions of the fort of his capital Warangal.³ Though this tradition is coloured by communal bias, it is undoubtedly based on authentic facts. A study of the inscriptions reveals that from the time of Rudrāmbā, if not earlier, the administration of the kingdom was carried on through *nāyaks* holding sway over districts called *sthālar*; but they belonged to no single community in particular but were recruited from all classes of the people; moreover, the number of *nāyakships* was actually seventy-five and not seventy-seven as tradition would have us believe;⁴ nor is there any evidence to show that they had any definite responsibility for the defence of the capital.

¹ ARE, 1909, Part II, para. 66.

² *Śivayāgerāraṇ*; see the *Kākatiya Samśhikā*, Appendix, p. 14.

³ *Mark. MSS.*, 13-4-30, pp. 54-60.

⁴ *JTA*, II, p. 106.

Pratāparudra put his new-modelled army to test by pitting it against the Kāyastha chiefs. It may be remembered that Ambadēva suffered a defeat at the hands of Pratāparudra when he was still the co-regent of his grandmother Rudrāmbā about A.D. 1295, and was compelled as a consequence to retire from Tripurāntakam and its neighbourhood. He, however, continued to rule over his native Muliki-nāḍu until A.D. 1304. He was succeeded by his son Tripurāri II, who held sway over his ancestral kingdom until at least A.D. 1305.¹ The relations between Pratāparudra and the Kāyasthas after Ambadēva's defeat mentioned above are by no means clear. Though writers on the Kākatīya history declare that Ambadēva subsequently became a vassal of Pratāparudra, the available epigraphic evidence seems definitely to indicate that the status of himself and his successors as independent princes remained for the moment unaltered. Neither in the inscriptions of Ambadēva nor in those of his successors is there found any mention of an overlord. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that they stayed independent for a while. Their power, however, was not destined to endure very long. Pratāparudra sent an army against them under his general *Mahārāja-Paṭṭasāhiṇi* Sōmaya Nāyaka in A.D. 1309, and Indulūri Annaya as well as a number of other commanders accompanied him with their forces. In the war that followed, the kings of Mōpūru, that is, the Kāyasthas, were overthrown, and the government of their territories, which were annexed to the kingdom, was entrusted to Sōmaya Nāyaka.²

The strengthening of the defences of the realm, in fact, called for immediate attention in the face of the Muslim incursions into the Deccan which at that time constituted a standing menace to the security of the southern Hindu kingdoms. Epigraphic evidence makes it quite clear that the Muslim armies first made their appearance in the Deccan about the middle of the thirteenth century. In an inscription at Pānugal in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State, dated A.D. 1267, the Sēuṇa prince Śārṅgapāṇidēva, a subordinate of Rudrāmbā, is said to have rescued 'the earth which was submerged under the Turushka deluge'.³ A similar feat is attributed, in another inscription found at Haluvāgalu in the Bellary district, dated A.D. 1282, to the Sēuṇa king Rāmachandrarāya, that is, Rāmadēva, who is described as the 'rescuer of the earth from the depredations of the Turushkas'.⁴ Although the Deccan Hindus had been conscious of the Muslim danger from the North for several decades before his accession, what actually prompted Pratāparudra to reorganize the military resources of his kingdom was the attack by Garshāsp Malik on Dēvagiri in A.D. 1295, an event which occurred at the same time as his accession to the throne. It demonstrated, as nothing else had done before, how utterly inadequate and inefficient the Hindu military

¹ *AR*, 207 of 1935-6; *I/R*, ii, Cd. 468; *AR*, 414 of 1911, 391 of 1938-9, and 63 of 1939-40.

² Ch. Virabhadra Rao, *History of the Age of the Kākatīya Kings*, v, pp. 481, 548-9.

³ *Corpus*, 34.

⁴ *SII*, ix, i, 380; *AR*, 224 of 1981.

organization was to cope with the new danger. Pratāparudra therefore provided himself, by remodelling the *nāyāṅkara* system, which appears to have come into vogue during the reigns of his predecessors, with a well-equipped army of 900,000 archers besides cavalry and elephants.¹ An opportunity to test the strength of his 'new-model' army soon offered itself. Garshāsp Malik, soon after his return to Hindustan from his expedition against Dēvagiri, treacherously murdered his uncle and sovereign, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn *Khaljī*, ascended the throne of Delhi, and having assumed the title of 'Alā-ud-Dīn *Khaljī*, began to rule the kingdom. He was the ablest and the most ambitious of the rulers of Turkish descent who ever sat on the throne of Delhi. Having resolved very early in his reign to make himself the master not only of Hindustan but also of the Deccan and the South, he initiated a policy of conquest which, under his successors, resulted in the subjugation of the entire peninsula as far as Sētubandha-Rāmēśvaram in the extreme South. According to contemporary Hindu sources, there were no less than eight Muslim expeditions against Teliṅgāṇa alone during the reign of Pratāparudra, in all of which, excepting the last, he withstood the invaders successfully, though in the final expedition he suffered defeat and was taken prisoner.² The Muslim historians, however, speak of only five expeditions, of which three were victorious and two disastrous. It is just possible that the Muslim historians omitted to mention some campaigns which they considered unimportant; but the claim to an unbroken series of victories except in the case of the last expedition which is attributed to Pratāparudra must be rejected as untenable, since the available evidence on the subject definitely points to its inaccuracy.

The earliest of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's expeditions against Teliṅgāṇa took place in A.D. 1303. The objects of the invasion were plunder and territorial expansion. 'Alā-ud-Dīn wanted money to finance his wars against the Rajputs and the Mongols, who constituted serious menaces to the safety of the Sultanate of Delhi. He was eager to despoil the rich Hindu kingdoms of the South so that he might organize efficiently the defence of his own territories. At the time of dispatching his first campaign against Teliṅgāṇa, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was also engaged in besieging the fort of Chitor in Rajputana. Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jūna, *dādbek-i-hazart*, and Jhāju of Kara, the nephew of Nuṣrat Khān, were sent with all the available officers and troops of Hindustan to invade Warangal. The account of the expedition which has come down to us is indeed very meagre, since such of the Muslim historians as deign to notice it dismiss it hurriedly in a few words. The Muslim army commanded by the two generals

¹ *Nava-lakṣha-dhanur-dhar-ādhināthi*

Prithvīnī lāsati Vīrarudradēvī—Vidyānātha, *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhāṣanam*.

زدر دیو آن رائے نہ لکھ تلنگ مرا این قوم را پیش نامد بچنگ

² *Isāmi, Futūh-ur-Salājīn* (Madras edn.), 294.

² The Vilasa Grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka. *ARE*, cp. 3 of 1938-9, Part II, para. 10.

mentioned above is said to have marched by way of Bengal and to have suffered disaster in the course of the march owing to floods in which a large part of it perished. However that may be, the expedition did, as a matter of historical fact, reach Teliṅgāṇa. There is reason to believe that it was worsted in an encounter with the Kākatīya forces. The chronicles of the Velama chiefs embodied in the *Velugōṣṭivāri Vamśāvaṣi* allude to a Kākatīya victory over the Muslims of Delhi prior to the advent of Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr. Pōtugaṇṭi Maili, one of the officers of the court of Pratāparudra, claims to have destroyed the pride of the Turushkas of Delhi in a battle near Upparapalli in the Karimnagar district of the old Hyderabad State.¹ As Maili is said to have visited the court of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khālījī at Delhi on a later occasion, the victory at Upparapalli must have been won by him over the army commanded by Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jūna. Venna, the son of Rēcherla Prasāditya, one of Rudrāmbā's ministers, is also said to have overthrown the Turushka army in battle.² As Venna's sons are reported to have participated in the later wars of Pratāparudra with the Muslims, his victory over the Turushkas must also have been won at Upparapalli. An epigraph engraved on a pillar standing in the fort of Warangal, copied by the Mackenzie Surveyors in 1806, refers to a victory of Manaraṅgōdari Rāju and Layiṅgayadēva over the Muslims in Samvat 1362 (A.D. 1304-5).³ It is evident from these records that Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn and Jhāju penetrated into the heart of Teliṅgāṇa, and reached Upparapalli in the neighbourhood of the capital Warangal. At that place their advance was checked by the Kākatīya army, and in the battle that followed the Delhi army, having sustained a crushing defeat, was compelled to retreat in confusion.

The failure of this expedition did not, however, affect 'Alā-ud-Dīn's designs of conquest, although he could not at that time pay immediate attention to the affairs of the South, owing to the frequent Mongol attacks on his north-western frontier and the outbreak of war in Rajputana and in Western India. The affairs of Hindustan and Western India had been settled satisfactorily by A.D. 1309: the Mongols had been finally crushed; Mālava had been conquered; Rāy Karan, the king of Gujarāt, had been defeated and driven out of his kingdom; the rebellion of Saṅgama, son of Rāmadēva of Dēvagiri, had been suppressed; and Mahārāshṭra had been brought effectively under the control of the Sulṭān, who therefore felt that he could now devote himself without distraction to the conquest of the Southern Hindu States, and dispatched a large army under Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr and Khwāja Hājī to effect the conquest of Teliṅgāṇa. Apart from his desire to plunder the rich Hindu kingdoms of the South, 'Alā-ud-Dīn had two other definite reasons for sending the expedition to Teliṅgāṇa. In the first place he wanted to wipe off the disgrace of the defeat formerly suffered by his army, and secondly he was

¹ Mack. MSS, 15-4-3, p. 82.

Mack. MSS, 15-3-20, p. 101.

² *Velugōṣṭivāri Vamśāvaṣi*, 25.

anxious to chastise Pratāparudra for having given asylum to Rāy Karan of Gujarāt, who had come to seek refuge at his court. The Sulṭān, however, seems to have entertained some doubt about the success of the campaign, for he cautioned Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr against extreme measures and commanded him to leave Pratāparudra in possession of his dominions, if he should submit to him and agree to pay tribute.¹

The expedition set out from Delhi on the 25th of Jumāda, A.H. 709 (31 Oct. 1309), passed through Dēvagiri where it halted for a few days, and then marched on to Teliāgāna through the diamond-mining district of Basiragarh and reached the fort of Sarbar, which it captured after a siege. The commandant and the garrison resolved to perish rather than fall into the hands of the Musalmāns. They lighted a huge fire and threw themselves into it with their wives and children. The fort was handed over to Annā Nid, the surviving brother of the late commandant, who promised obedience to the Sulṭān.²

Pratāparudra was informed of the Muslim invasion by refugees from Sarbar who had fled to the capital for protection. He was not, however, surprised, as he had been expecting an attack on his dominions by the Sulṭān sooner or later. He had a strong and well-equipped army of 900,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 100 elephants. Besides this some of the neighbouring chiefs had promised to join him. Malik Nā'ib, however, did not give him time to gather his forces together in fighting array. He moved swiftly towards Warangal and laid siege to the city before Pratāparudra could complete his preparations.

Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr met with no serious opposition on his way. On his arrival near the Kākatiya capital on 20 January, A.D. 1310, he seized the hill of Aanumakoṇḍa, and having erected a *kathkar* or wooden palisade to protect his camp he established himself there. The city of Warangal had two forts, one within the other, and both were surrounded by a deep ditch; the outer fort was built of mud and was protected, according to the *Pratāpacharitra*, by seventy-seven bastions, the defence of each of which was entrusted to a *nāyak*. All the fighting men of the kingdom were assembled in it; the subordinate chiefs and the distinguished nobles with their treasures and elephants took up their residence with the king in the inner citadel, built of stone. The siege began on 19 January, A.D. 1310. Notwithstanding a counter-attack by the Hindus on the Muslim camp, it continued with unabated vigour for a period of twenty-five days when on 12 February, A.D. 1310, the mud fort was taken by storm, and the defenders who survived the fight retired into the inner fort. Pratāparudra, however, refused to surrender, and Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr had to lay siege to the stone fort. His attention was much distracted by the activities of Hindu soldiers who were operating in the countryside around him. The postal system, by means of which news passed between his army headquarters and

¹ Barani, *ED*, iii, p. 201.

² Khusrāu, *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, JIH, viii, 382-3.

Delhi, had been put out of action, and it was even apprehended that the communications might be entirely cut off. Nevertheless, Malik Nā'ib did not relax the vigour of his operations. He sent parties of soldiers out into the country to devastate it and to terrify the inhabitants. The condition of the besieged in the inner fort became increasingly difficult owing to lack of accommodation, and at last Pratāparudra could hold out no longer. Thereupon he sued for peace and Malik Nā'ib agreed to raise the siege and to return to his own country on the condition that Pratāparudra should hand over all his accumulated wealth and should further promise to pay the Sultān annually a stipulated sum of money and send a contingent of elephants as tribute. Pratāparudra accepted these conditions and surrendered all his treasure and his elephants and horses. The Malik Nā'ib, who was now satisfied that he had fully carried out the instructions of the Sultān, set out for Delhi and arrived safely at the capital on 10 June, A.D. 1310.¹

Pratāparudra discharged his obligations faithfully. Every year thereafter he sent the stipulated amount of tribute and the quota of elephants to the Court of Delhi. An interesting incident which took place in the court of the Sultān on one occasion when some of the officers of Pratāparudra were there on a visit deserves notice, since it demonstrates the existence of friendly relations between the conquerors and the conquered at this time. Two officers of Pratāparudra, Pōtugaṇṭi Maili and Telīṅga Bijjana, who had probably gone to Delhi in command of the troops conveying the tribute, fought an exhibition duel at the *Dākhōl* in the presence of the Imperial Court, perhaps in order to display before the Sultān and his courtiers the skill in swordsmanship for which the Deccanīs had long been famous. Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn seems to have held Pratāparudra in high esteem, since he later called for his assistance, as will presently be shown, in the execution of certain military enterprises in the South.

The failure of Pratāparudra to ward off the Muslim invasion let loose the forces of disintegration in his kingdom, especially in the southern districts which had only recently been reduced to subjection. A rebellion appears to have broken out in the erstwhile Kāyastha dominions; and Raṅganātha, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of Nellore, threw off the yoke and asserted his independence. Pratāparudra concerted measures, as soon as circumstances permitted after the retirement of the Muslim invaders from Telīṅgāṇa, to suppress the rebels and bring back the southern districts under his control. He sent an army under Juṭṭaya-*leṅka* Goṅkaya Reḍḍi against Mallidēva, probably a scion of the Kāyastha family, who had established himself at Gaṇḍikōṭa, and had attempted there to revive his ancestral kingdom. He perhaps received some help from the Sēuṇas, since Pratāparudra is referred to in the inscription describing Goṅkaya Reḍḍi's expedition as *Oḍḍiyarāya-*

¹ N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp. 31-41.

diśāpatta and *Sēṇa-dhātta-vibhāṣa*.¹ Mallidēva was defeated and killed and Gaṇḍikōṭa was captured. Pratāparudra appointed Goṅkaya Redḍi as the governor of Muliki-nāḍu and the adjoining territories and posted him at Gaṇḍikōṭa. But while he was further engaged in making preparations for invading the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore he received a mandate from Delhi instructing him to accompany the Imperial Army with all his forces against the Pāṇḍyan dominions in the South.

The circumstances in which the Sultān issued his command to Pratāparudra to proceed to the South call for explanation. On the death of the Pāṇḍyan king Māravarman Kulaśēkhara in A.D. 1310, a civil war had broken out for the possession of the throne between his two sons Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vira Pāṇḍya. While the struggle between the brothers was still in progress and the issue as yet undecided, Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr invaded the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in A.D. 1311 at the instance of his master, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. Owing to the confusion caused by the intestine conflict, he was able to overrun the country without opposition as far south as the Pāṇḍyan capital Madura. But though at first he swept everything before him, he was ultimately overcome, and had to retreat homewards, carrying with him whatever booty he could lay hands on. The civil war, which had been interrupted for the time being by Malik Nā'ib's invasion, was resumed after his defeat. And soon the situation was further complicated by the rise of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara of Quilon, a subordinate of Sundara Pāṇḍya, who rose against his master and drove him out of the kingdom; he next attacked Vira Pāṇḍya, and having put him to flight in a pitched battle, had himself crowned at Kāñchī in A.D. 1313. Sundara Pāṇḍya, thus dispossessed of his kingdom, fled to the Court of Delhi and solicited the help of 'Alā-ud-Dīn. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who was eager to bring the Pāṇḍyan kingdom under his suzerainty, readily undertook to restore him to his throne; but he was unable, owing to the outbreak of a rebellion at Dēvagiri after the death of Rāmadēva in A.D. 1312-13, and the fact that the major part of his forces under Malik Nā'ib were engaged in warfare in Mahārāshṭra, to send a fully fledged expedition for this purpose. Therefore, while dispatching a contingent to accompany Sundara Pāṇḍya, the Sultān, in order to ensure the success of the enterprise, also, as we have mentioned above, instructed Pratāparudra to co-operate with the imperial troops in their effort to reinstate the Pāṇḍyan king as ruler over his lost territories.

The Sultān's command fell in with Pratāparudra's designs, since it would enable him not only to re-establish his authority over the kingdom of Nellore without difficulty but also to wrest from the Pāṇḍyas the city of Kāñchī, which they had taken from his predecessors in earlier times. He therefore gathered together all his forces, and placing them under the command of Muppiḍi

¹ *SH*, 2, 306 and 336; *AR*, 328 and 329 of 1903.

Nāyaka, dispatched them to the South with instructions to take possession of Nellore and to restore Sundara Pāṇḍya to his kingdom. Although the available epigraphical evidence clearly indicates that the Sultān's army participated in the struggle,¹ yet the main burden of the expedition seems to have devolved on the shoulders of Pratāparudra himself, owing to the death of the Sultān in Delhi in A.D. 1316, and the subsequent withdrawal of all the Muslims from the Deccan by the orders of Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr.² Operations during the campaign fell into three definite stages: (1) the subjugation of the kingdom of Nellore; (2) the fight with Ballāla III and the restoration of the Śaṁbuvarāya; and (3) the war with the Pāṇḍyas and the restoration of Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Kākatiya army commanded by Muppiḍi Nāyaka's son Pedda Rudra seems to have set out from Warangal and to have marched against king Śrī Raṅganātha of Nellore, who was defeated and put to flight. The commander next came into conflict somewhere in the neighbourhood with a certain chief of the name of Kōṭa Tikka, who was slain in battle together with all his followers. After this he proceeded to the forest tracts of Nārāyaṇavanam, and reduced the numerous *manniya* forts which then abounded in that region. The Nellore kingdom which Pratāparudra seems to have assigned to Muppiḍi Nāyaka as an appanage was quickly brought under control, and Pedda Rudra then advanced against Ballāla III, who seems to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood at that time. How he came to be there just then is not difficult to surmise. Ever since the death of his cousin Viśvanātha and the unification of his kingdom in A.D. 1300, Ballāla III had been making attempts, whenever circumstances appeared favourable, to recover his family possessions in the Tamil country. Thus on the death of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara in A.D. 1310, and the outbreak of civil war between his two sons, Vira Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya, Ballāla set out toward the South on an expedition of conquest, but was compelled to retrace his steps by the unexpected appearance in his rear of the Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr at the head of the Delhi army. Although he had for a time to give up his project of annexing the southern country owing to his fear of the Sultān and the presence of the Malik Nā'ib in the Deccan, yet the death of the former and the withdrawal across the Narmadā to Delhi of the latter, with all his Muslim forces, emboldened him to make a fresh attempt to realize his ambi-

¹ *SI*, viii, 247; *AR*, 642 of 1902. *mumāl Rājaraṅjan Sundara Pāṇḍyadevar Tulukkur-ulan vanda-nāḥil*.

² *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (Madras edn.), p. 348.

بدان عین ملک همایون سیر	شتابان رسی چون برآن بوم و بر
ابا شہسواران چایک رکاب	یگوتا بہ ایدر براند شتاب
کند خالی آن جمل اقلیم را	بیارد ہم اهل اسلیم را
چون لشکر روان کرد از آن بوم و بر	غرض عین ملک خجسته سیر
.	همی راند آن صفدر کینه خواه

tion. This time he was evidently successful in his enterprise, since a large part of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, including perhaps Kāñchī, the capital of the district, seems to have passed into his hands, and some of the local chieftains, such as the Śāmbuvarāya of Paḍaiviḍu and the Yādavarāya of Chandragiri, probably tendered their allegiance. Pedda Rudra, however, defeated Ballāḷa III and his feudatories, took possession of the territory recently conquered by Ballāḷa, and conciliated at the same time the Śāmbuvarāya by reinstating him in his hereditary dominion. He next proceeded to Kāñchī and occupied that city without much opposition.¹

The Kākatīya occupation of Kāñchī roused the Pāṇḍyas to fresh activity. The 'Five Pāṇḍyas', according to the *Velugōṭṭiyāri Vamśāvali*, collected their forces and marched on Kāñchī to expel the Kākatīyas from the city and to re-establish their own authority there. Pratāparudra seems to have arrived in the city at this juncture to conduct the operations in person and to have taken over the command of the army. A great battle took place in the vicinity of Kāñchī in which both sides fought with great determination. The Pāṇḍyan elephant corps charged the Telugu infantry furiously and spread panic in their ranks; but the Velamas, under their chief, Rēcheḷa Eṇṇa Dācha, as well as the Redḍi contingents, stood firm and averted disaster. Eṇṇa Dācha is said to have excited the admiration of the famous warriors of Pratāparudra's court by rushing on the leader of the Pāṇḍyan elephant squadron and arresting the charge. This act was the turning-point of the battle, and victory soon declared itself in favour of the Kākatīya monarch. Pratāparudra appointed Mānavīra as the governor of Kāñchī, and ordered Dēvari Nāyaka to carry the war into the interior of the Pāṇḍyan dominions and to install Sundara Pāṇḍya on his throne at Vīradhāvala; he then returned to his capital.

Dēvari Nāyaka marched southwards in obedience to his master's command. The movements of his army and the events which took place during the course of his march are not known. It is, however, certain that Vīra Pāṇḍya made up his quarrel with his former rival, Ravivarman Kuḷaśēkhara, and gathering together the other Pāṇḍyan princes under his banner prepared to withstand the advance of the Telugu army. The opposing forces met near the village of Tiruvaḍikuṇṇam in the Ginjee *tāluk* of the South Arcot district, and a fierce engagement, elephants again playing an important part, took place, in which Dēvari Nāyaka inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya and the Malayāla Tiruvaḍi Ravivarman Kuḷaśēkhara and re-established Sundara Pāṇḍya on his throne at Vīradhāvala.²

But whilst Pratāparudra was engaged in waging war on the Pāṇḍyas in the South, important political changes were taking place in Delhi. Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr, who was carrying on the administration of the empire in the name of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, was murdered, and Quṭb-ud-Dīn Mubārak

¹ *Mack. MSS.*, 15-4-4, p. 37; *JOR.*, xii, 213-16.

² *AR.*, 79 of 1938-9; *ARE.*, 1938-9, Part II, para. 8.

Shāh, another son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, ascended the throne. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had consolidated his position, he set out in the second year of his reign (A.D. 1318) on an expedition to the Deccan to restore the imperial authority in Marhaṭṭa, where a formidable rebellion had broken out under the leadership of Hārāpāladēva, who had proclaimed his independence and attempted to revive the old Sēuṇa kingdom of Dēvagiri. A second object of the campaign was to collect the tribute from Pratāparudra, who appears to have omitted to forward his payments, having taken advantage of the revolution in the imperial capital and the breakdown of the Muslim power in the Deccan. The Sultān soon arrived in Marhaṭṭa and there put down the Hindu rebellion with a stern hand. He then dispatched his favourite slave Khusrau Khān to Warangal at the head of a powerful army with instructions to overthrow Pratāparudra unless he should immediately submit and pay the arrears of tribute due to the Sultān. What happened during Khusrau Khān's expedition to Warangal is not easy to determine, since the available evidence on the subject is conflicting in character. Amīr Khusrau and 'Iṣāmī, the earliest historians who describe the events connected with the expedition, are unfortunately at variance with each other. According to the former, Pratāparudra refused to pay the tribute and offered resistance. Khusrau Khān, like Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr before him, marched at the head of the Delhi army from Dēvagiri, and halted in the neighbourhood of Warangal. Pratāparudra is said to have attacked him with 10,000 horse and innumerable foot, but to have been defeated and driven back into the fort by a small band of about 300 horsemen. Khusrau next laid siege to Warangal and captured the outer fort. A large number of Hindus of distinction, including Pratāparudra's commander-in-chief Antil Mahta, were killed in the fight. The bold advance of the Muslim forces alarmed Pratāparudra, who realizing that it would be useless to resist further made peace with Khusrau Khān and agreed to cede five districts of his kingdom to the Sultān and to pay an annual tribute of more than 100 elephants and 12,000 horses, together with gold, jewels, and precious stones beyond compute. Khusrau Khān then raised the siege and returned to Delhi laden with booty.¹

This seems to be an overdrawn picture of Khusrau Khān's achievements in Teliṅgāṇa; for 'Iṣāmī, who also describes Khusrau's Teliṅgāṇa expedition, does not refer to any hostilities; on the contrary, he states that Khusrau collected all the tribute due to his master without having any recourse to force.

When Khusrau Khān reached the frontier of Teliṅgāṇa, he dispatched a courier to Pratāparudra with a letter demanding the payment of arrears of tribute, threatening him with dire consequences in the event of refusal. When the courier arrived at Warangal, Pratāparudra received him with cordiality and respect. He sent a reply to Khusrau Khān affirming that he was a loyal

¹ Amīr Khusrau, *Nuh Sipihr*, ED, III, 350-61.

vassal of the Sultān; that his failure to pay the tribute was not due to any attempt at evasion but to the insecurity of the roads which were infested with malefactors, and that he would send the tribute to the Khān who had arrived in his kingdom and would add presents for the general himself. He sent back the messenger with this reply, and immediately dispatched the stipulated amount of tribute, together with more than one hundred elephants, to the Khān's camp. Khusrau was satisfied, and in accordance with the Sultān's instructions he presented to Pratāparudra an umbrella, a *durbash*, and a *qaba* set with gems. Having successfully accomplished the task entrusted to him by the Sultān, Khusrau Khān then marched away with his forces in the direction of Delhi.¹

It is hardly possible to reconcile these incompatible accounts. Amīr Khusrau was a contemporary historian; he could not have been ignorant of the events that had taken place during the expedition; but 'Iṣāmī was himself a Daccanī; and he wrote his history within thirty years of the occurrence of the events. Having regard to the authentic character of his chronicle, his narrative cannot easily be set aside as untrustworthy. Whichever of the two accounts one may be disposed to accept, there can be no doubt that Khusrau Khān successfully executed the task entrusted to him; for Amīr Khusrau and 'Iṣāmī both agree that he collected the arrears of tribute from Pratāparudra and restored the imperial authority in Teliṅgāna.

Pratāparudra seems to have sent an expedition against the kingdom of Kāmpili some time after the departure of Khusrau Khān from Teliṅgāna. The circumstances in which he invaded Kāmpili are not definitely known. According to the tradition preserved in the *Kumāra-Rāmana-Sāṅgatya* and other late Kannaḍa literary works, Kumāra Rāma, the son of Kāmpilirāya, paid a visit to the court of Pratāparudra at Warangal to solicit that ruler's help against Ballāḷa III, with whom he was in conflict at the time. Though Pratāparudra honoured him and treated him with consideration, he declined to join him in the war against Ballāḷa III. Kumāra Rāma returned to his country in great anger and offered an affront to Pratāparudra by assuming some of the Kākatīya titles. Pratāparudra, provoked by this act, declared war and sent his army to invade the kingdom of Kāmpili. He was, however, defeated in battle by Kumāra Rāma and had to make peace with him and retire into his own territories.² This account is, however, contradicted by the evidence of Telugu literary works of the later centuries. Prōlaya Annaya, one of Pratāparudra's commanders, destroyed, according to Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara-Purāṇam*, the pleasure gardens on the outskirts of Kummaṭha, the capital of Kāmpilirāya.³ Koṭikaṇṭi Rāghava, an elder brother of Sōmadēvarāja, one of the forebears of the later Ārevīḍu chiefs, is stated to have defeated Kāmpili-

¹ *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 361-3: کیفیت خسرو خان و عزیمت او جانب تلنگ

² N. Venkataratnamayya, *Kāmpili and Vijayanagara*, p. 17, and M. H. Rama Sarma, 'Studies in Vijayanagara History', *QJMS*, xx, pp. 95-96.

³ *Bhīm*, i, 48.

rāja in battle and deprived him of the 'seven members of his royalty'.¹ Taking into consideration all the evidence furnished by both the Kannada and the Telugu sources it is not unreasonable to conclude that victory leaned at one time to the side of Kāmpilirāja and at another to the side of Pratāparudra, though it is not possible to conclude, in the present state of knowledge, what the ultimate issue of the war actually was.

Pratāparudra, however, was not allowed to rule his kingdom long in peace. Within a year of their return from Warangal the Muslim armies were again on the move. Malik Ek-Lakhy, whom Sultān Qurb-ud-Dīn had appointed as the governor of Mahārāshtra, rose in revolt and proclaimed his independence; he assumed the insignia of royalty, adopted the title of Shams-ud-Dīn, and minted coinage in his own name. The Sultān, on getting news of this rebellion, sent Khusrau Khān out again with an army, and commissioned him not only to put down Ek-Lakhy and to restore the royal authority in Mahārāshtra, but also to reduce Ma'bar to subjection. The presence of the Delhi forces on his frontiers must have caused much anxiety to Pratāparudra, but the storm passed away without affecting his territories. Khusrau Khān defeated Ek-Lakhy quite easily and sent him as a prisoner to Delhi. He restored order in the country and put in force measures for carrying on the administration. Next he proceeded to Ma'bar and had reached its capital Paṭṭan, when he was taken back to Delhi as a prisoner by his mutinous followers, who suspected his loyalty to the imperial government. The Sultān, who was infatuated with him, set him at liberty and restored him to favour. Then followed a series of events which shook the Muslim empire of Delhi to its foundations. Khusrau Khān basely murdered his sovereign and benefactor and usurped the throne; but the Turkish nobles, who resented his usurpation, conspired against him and put him to death. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq, their leader, then ascended the throne and proclaimed himself Sultān in A.D. 1320. During the first three years of his rule he was engaged in establishing his authority over Hindustan, and when that business had been successfully accomplished, he turned his attention to the South and, in A.D. 1323, sent an expedition against Teliṅgāṇa under his son Ulugh Khān.

The circumstances which decided Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh to send his forces against Teliṅgāṇa are not definitely known; but Firishta, writing in the early years of the seventeenth century, states that 'Rudradēv, the rāja of Warangal, during the late disturbances had refused to send the tribute' and Ulugh Khān was therefore sent against him.² This in itself is not unlikely, since Pratāparudra had withheld the payment of tribute once before under similar circumstances. Ulugh Khān marched to Warangal by way of Dēvagiri. Pratāparudra, according to Firishta, opposed the advance of the Muslim army with spirit, but was obliged in the end to retreat to his capital, which was immediately invested by Ulugh Khān.³ The succeeding struggle was indeed

¹ *Bhārati*, vi, p. 848.

² *Briggs, Firishta*, i, p. 403.

³ *Ibid.*

both protracted and fierce. Nor was the fighting confined exclusively to Warangal and its neighbourhood. A part of the Delhi army under Majir Abū-Riza was engaged in besieging Kōtagiri at the same time as Ulugh Khān was vainly attempting to capture Warangal. It is not at all unlikely that other places of importance in the country were also attacked by various detachments. Nevertheless, Ulugh Khān failed to achieve his object and had to beat a hasty retreat from Teliṅgāṇa, hotly pursued by the Kākatiya army. The failure of Ulugh Khān is attributed by Muslim historians to the machinations of the poet 'Ubaid, a treacherous companion and friend of the prince. According to Baranī, Ulugh Khān had closely invested Warangal, and had reduced the defenders to extremities. Of the two forts that surrounded the city, the outer or the mud fort was about to fall, when Pratāparudra sued for peace and offered to submit to the authority of the Sultān and to pay the tribute demanded; but Ulugh Khān, who had set his heart on the capture of Pratāparudra and his capital, rejected the offer. In the meanwhile, a change came over the spirit of the Muslim army. Since the postal system had broken down, no recent news had reached the camp from the capital, and at this juncture the poet 'Ubaid and Shaikh Zāda-i-Dimashqī, who were intimate friends of Ulugh Khān, spread in the army the false rumour that the Sultān was dead in Delhi, that a usurper had seized the throne, and that the Khān was about to arrest some of the important chiefs of the army, their loyalty being suspect in his eyes on account of their Khaljī sympathies. This information, coming as it did from the intimate companions of the Khān, created panic in their minds, and they fled from the camp with their followers. The Muslim army was thrown into confusion as a consequence of their flight, and the Hindus, taking advantage of the sudden misfortune that had overtaken their enemies, stormed into Ulugh Khān's camp and plundered it. Unable to withstand their attack, he rallied his troops and retreated in haste towards Dēvagiri.¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who came to India some ten years after the conquest of Teliṅgāṇa, attributes the disaster to the miscarriage of the ambitious designs of Ulugh Khān himself, and represents 'Ubaid as the unfortunate victim of his treachery. Ulugh Khān who, according to Baṭṭūṭa, was planning to stir up a rebellion against his father, instigated 'Ubaid to spread in the army the false rumour of the Sultān's death, expecting that the leaders of the army would swear allegiance to him as their sovereign; but his plan miscarried. The *amīrs* rose against him and would have killed him; but Malik Timūr, one of the principal *amīrs* in the army, offered him protection and helped him to flee to Delhi. Though the Sultān was aware of the treacherous designs of his son, he accepted the false accusations which the latter levelled against the *amīrs*, and not only punished them severely but also sent him back with men and money to Teliṅgāṇa to retrieve the disaster.² Though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited India within a decade after the fall of Warangal, he actually wrote his

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*. ED, iii, pp. 251-3.

² ED, iii, p. 609.

Risāla from memory in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, after his return to his native Morocco. The accuracy of his account is not free from doubt; for it not only contradicts the evidence of the contemporary Indian Muslim historians but also runs counter to the character of the Sultān. *Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh* was a just and upright ruler. It is not likely that he would have condoned *Ulugh Khān*'s treachery and sent him back to *Teliṅgāna* with men and money, if the latter had really acted in the manner described by *Baṭṭūṭa*.

The most satisfactory account of the events mentioned above comes from the pen of *ʿIṣāmī*, the earliest writer on the subject, who finished his history in A.D. 1349. According to him *Ulugh Khān* plundered the country until he reached Warangal. He then invested the fort for six long months but could not reduce it. The Sultān at Delhi became impatient, and wrote letters to *Ulugh Khān* charging him with indifference in the execution of his commands. *Ulugh Khān*, in his eagerness to bring the siege to a successful end, consulted *ʿUbaid*, the astrologer, to find out the day on which the fort was destined to fall into his hands. The astrologer made his calculations, fixed the day of the fall, and declared that if the fort still remained unconquered on that day he would forfeit his life on the gibbet in its vicinity. The day fixed by *ʿUbaid* approached; but the defenders of the fort showed no signs of submission. *ʿUbaid* was greatly alarmed. If his prediction should fail, as it appeared certain to do, *Ulugh Khān* would certainly demand his head. To escape the evil consequences of the failure of his prediction, he devised a plan, and spreading in the army the false news of the Sultān's death, of a revolution in the capital, and of *Ulugh Khān*'s secret resolve to kill the principal *amīrs* in the camp for their alleged *ʿAlāʾī* sympathies, he created a panic which led to their conclusion of peace with *Pratāparudra* and their subsequent flight from Warangal followed by that of *Ulugh Khān* himself.¹

Although all the three Muslim writers mentioned above were contemporaries of *Ulugh Khān* (the later *Muḥammad bin Tughluq*) yet the account of *ʿIṣāmī*, as already stated, is the earliest, and may probably be considered more trustworthy than the other two. What presumably happened at Warangal may now be stated briefly, though it is not possible, owing to the conflicting character of the available evidence, to present an indisputably accurate picture of the events. *Ulugh Khān* marched to Warangal with his army and besieged the city for six months, but failed to capture it. A rebellion broke out in his camp owing to the machinations of *ʿUbaid* who is variously spoken of as a poet and an astrologer, and *Ulugh Khān* was obliged as a consequence to raise the siege and retreat homewards, hotly pursued by the Hindus, who attacked him frequently, plundered his baggage, and followed him until he reached *Kōṭagiri*, where *Majīr Abu Riza*, who was engaged in besieging the fort there, came to his help and saved his army from destruction.

¹ *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 394-7.

Second Telingāna Expedition. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq was a man of strong will and firm determination. Defeat did not discourage him, but rather urged him on to make a fresh effort to achieve his purpose. He severely punished the rebel *amīrs*, and sent reinforcements to Dēvagiri, where Ulugh Khān had taken refuge, with instructions to his son to march again into Telingāna and to subjugate the country. As soon as the reinforcements arrived in Dēvagiri, Ulugh Khān started for Telingāna, which he reached by rapid marches to the frontier post of Badrikot (Bīdar?). He seized that fort and several others along his route and posted strong garrisons in them under trustworthy officers with instructions to hold them to the last. Finally he came to Bōdhan which was distant ten days' journey from Warangal. After a siege of three or four days the fort capitulated, and the governor and his followers saved themselves by embracing Islām. Ulugh Khān next proceeded to Warangal and laid siege to the city. Not much information is available about the second siege of Warangal by Ulugh Khān. It is disposed of briefly by Baranī and the later Muslim historians who follow his account. It is stated that Ulugh Khān first laid siege to the mud fort and seized it; and that the inner citadel next fell into his hands. The fort was captured and Pratāparudra was taken prisoner and sent to the court of the Sultān at Delhi. The capture of Warangal was not so easily effected as these historians would have us believe; but for the amazing lack of foresight of Pratāparudra, it is doubtful whether Ulugh Khān would have effected its capture as quickly as he did. The siege, as a matter of fact, lasted for five months. 'Iṣāmī describes this siege and the circumstances in which the fort was captured. It appears that after the retreat of Ulugh Khān from Warangal at the end of his first expedition, Pratāparudra held a feast to celebrate his victory over the Muslims. Believing that they would not again invade his kingdom in the near future, he opened the granaries within the fort and sold the whole of the grain stored up there; he also commanded his subjects to abandon their military activities and to busy themselves with their cattle and crops. But he was soon undeceived. Within four months of his retreat Ulugh Khān returned with a fresh army to Warangal and sat down before the walls. The fort was without any proper garrison to maintain its defence, and lacked adequate stores of corn to provision the garrison during the siege. No wonder the Muslims quickly succeeded in effecting its capture. Though taken by surprise Pratāparudra put up a plucky fight; but the scanty stock of provisions which he hastily gathered together soon ran out, and the troops inside the fort began to suffer severely from hunger. Pratāparudra was obliged to surrender. He threw open the gates of the fort, and delivered himself with the other members of his family into Ulugh Khān's hands. The Muslims then entered the fort, plundered the houses, and demolished the public buildings.

Ulugh Khān did not allow Pratāparudra to remain long in Telingāna after his submission. Considering that it was not safe to keep him in the country,

where his presence might lead to popular revolts and other political complications, he sent him immediately to Delhi with all the members of his family, escorted by a contingent of his army under Qādir Khān and Khwāja Hājī, two officers in whom he had great confidence. They were not, however, destined to bring the fallen monarch into the metropolis, for before they could reach Delhi he died. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, who dispatches him to hell with a single sentence, does not disclose the circumstances in which he died.¹ More information is furnished by the inscriptions. In the Vilasa grant of Musunūri Prōlaya Nāyaka (c. A.D. 1330) it is stated that Pratāparudra, while being carried away as a captive to Delhi, died on the banks of the river Sōmōdbhavā, i.e. the Narmadā.² His death does not seem to have been the result of natural causes, for according to the Kaluvachēṅṅu grant of the Redḍi queen Anitalli, dated A.D. 1423, he departed to the world of Gods by his own desire.³ This seems to suggest that he either committed suicide or was slain by one of his followers at his own instance. Pratāparudra was a proud monarch, and it would seem that he could not reconcile himself to the changed conditions of his life in captivity. Considering perhaps that death was preferable to dishonour he seems to have voluntarily embraced it. With the defeat and death of Pratāparudra ended the rule of the Kākatīya line of kings; and the country passed into the hands of rulers belonging to an alien race and religion.

Pratāparudra's Family. The available information about Pratāparudra's family is scanty. None of his queens is mentioned in any of the numerous inscriptions and literary works of his time. The *Pratāpacharitra*, a late legendary account of the Kākatīya kings, no doubt refers twice to his chief queen Viśālākshī;⁴ but this document is so encrusted with legend that no real reliance can be placed on its evidence. The *Kṛiḍābhirāmam*, a fifteenth-century Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit *Vidhināṭakam*, *Prēmābhirāmam* of Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntaka by Vallabharāya of Vinukonda, speaks of the beautiful and highly cultured betaera, Māchaladēvi of Warangal, as his favourite mistress.⁵ Although persons alleged to have been his sons are referred to in the inscriptions and in the historical and quasi-historical works, he appears actually to have died without leaving issue. Of the various persons mentioned as his descendants Juttaya-leṅka Goṅkā Redḍi, who is described in an undated inscription of his time found at Upparappalli in the Proddatur taluk of the Cuddapah district as 'his [Pratāparudra's] dear son', deserves notice first.⁶ Juttaya-leṅka Goṅkā Redḍi cannot

¹ Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūs Shāhī*, p. 395.

² *AR*, A, 5 of 1938-9.

³ *JTA*, ii, p. 106: *Tasmin Pratāparudrē Svasthānam svēchchhayaiva yāsvatī*.

⁴ *Pratāpacharitram* (*Saivaprachārāṅṅa-Granthamāla*, Warangal).

⁵ *Kṛiḍābhirāmam*, 181.

⁶ *SII*, x, 336.

possibly have been the son of Pratāparudra for, as his name clearly indicates, his father was a person called Juttaya who was a *leika* by profession. Juttaya-*leika* Goṅkā Redḍi is a compound word consisting of two names, Juttaya-*leika* and Goṅkā Redḍi, signifying that the persons whose names are thus joined together are related to each other as father and son respectively, and obviously Goṅkā Redḍi could not have been the son both of Juttaya-*leika* and of Pratāparudra. The truth of the matter is that Gonka Redḍi, like his father Juttaya and his younger brother Rudraya, who is mentioned in an epigraph at Chanduvāyi in the Siddhavatam *tāluk* of the Cuddapah district,¹ was a member of the order of the *leikas*; and by custom, like all the other persons belonging to this brotherhood, he is referred to in the inscription as a son of the king. The historian Firishta introduces a son of Pratāparudra called Kishan Nāyak, who headed a rebellion against the Musalmāns in Teliṅgāna in 1336 A.D., and having expelled them made himself master of the country.² The name Kishan is the result of a scribal error. In actual fact, there never was any person bearing the name of Kishan Nāyak who played any such part at that time as is attributed to him by Firishta. On a careful examination of the text of available manuscripts of Firishta and a comparison of these with the accounts found in other Muslim histories, the real name of the author of the rebellion against the Musalmāns in A.D. 1336 is found to have been Kāpaya Nāyaka; and a study of the inscriptions left by him reveals the fact that he was a member of the Musunūri family and was in no way related to the Kākatīyas. How Firishta came to regard Kāpaya as the son of Pratāparudra cannot be ascertained without further resources than we at present possess. His statement that Pratāparudra had a son of the name of Kishan Nāyak must therefore be discarded as completely unhistorical. The *Pratāpacharitam* states that Pratāparudra was succeeded by his son Vīrabhadra. On the death of Pratāparudra, 'it is said that Annamadēva performed his funeral rites and himself renounced the world. In accordance with the wishes of his brother's son Vīrabhadra, he had him crowned king and retired with Virūpāksha to the Vindhya hills in the north-east.'³ There is absolutely no evidence to show that Pratāparudra either had a son called Vīrabhadra or that such a person was crowned king of the country on the death of his father. The author of the chronicle seems to have confounded Pratāparudra with the Gajapati king of that name who ruled over Coastal Āndhra and Teliṅgāna during the first half of the sixteenth century. This latter had indeed a son called Vīrabhadra, a celebrated warrior, who held sway over Koṇḍaviḍu-*daṇḍapatha* as the governor of that territory under his father. It is not improbable that the author of the *Pratāpacharitam* had this person in

¹ *AR*, 3 of 1939-40.

² *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Naval Kishore edn.), p. 138.

درین وقت کیشن نایک پسر لدر دیو ک نواحی ورنگل می بود

³ *Pratāpacharitam* (*Saivaprachārīṇī-Granthamāla*, Warangal), p. 79.

mind when he spoke of Virabhadra as being the son of Pratāparudra. Although Pratāparudra seems to have had no children, he certainly had a brother named Annamadēva, who became the progenitor of the later rulers of Bastar in the present Madhya Pradesh.¹

His Vassals, Generals, and Ministers. Several feudatory princes, nobles, ministers, generals, and other officials played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom. Among the feudatories, the Kāyasthas deserve mention first. Ariṇbadēva and his sons Jannigadēva II and Tripurāri II probably owed no allegiance to Pratāparudra. Mallidēva, who appears to have succeeded them, must have been forced to submit to his authority. Though the Kāyastha prince made an unsuccessful attempt, taking advantage of the invasion of Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr in A.D. 1310, to regain his patrimony, he lost his life in the enterprise, and with him ended the short-lived dynasty of the Kāyastha kings of Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa.

Next in importance are the Telugu Chōḷas. Two branches of the Telugu Chōḷa family, those respectively of Nellore and Koṭyadona, and particularly the former, demand special notice. The history of Nellore subsequent to the death of Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla at the hands of Aḍidam Mallu is obscure. This ruler was probably succeeded by Madhurāntaka Pottapi Chōḷa Ranganātha, who bore the titles of *Tribhuvana-Chakravarti* and *Rāja-Gaṇḍagōpāla*. From his inscriptions, which record his regnal years coupled with the corresponding dates in the Śaka era, he appears to have come to power in Ś. 1213 (A.D. 1291-2),² although the circumstances under which he did so are not known. Judging from his hostility to the Kākatīyas from the early years of his rule, it is not unreasonable to suppose that after Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla's death he seized power with the help of the Pāṇḍyas, who took intense interest in the affairs of the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore. However that may be, Pratāparudra found it necessary to take steps, immediately after his accession, to strengthen his authority in the southern districts of his kingdom, and sent an army there with this purpose. The command of this army was probably entrusted to Bōlnēningāru, who is said in an undated epigraph at Uppu-Māgaḷūru in the Narasārāopēṭ *tāluk* of the Guntur district to have led at this time an expedition against the Pāṇḍyas.³ Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla of Koṭyadona also accompanied the expedition. Some of the incidents which took place during this expedition are alluded to in one of Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla's inscriptions at Narasārāopēṭ in the same district, dated A.D. 1297. Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla is said in this record to have been 'the submarine fire under the ocean of the army of the Drāviḷas', and the destroyer of the enemies who were the friends of Rāya Gaṇḍagōpāla.⁴ The Rāya Gaṇḍagōpāla referred to in this

¹ *ARE*, 1909, Part II, para. 66.

² *NI*, vol. I, Gu. 50; vol. II, N. 60, 62, and 71.

³ *SII*, x, 540.

⁴ *SII*, iv, 661.

record was no doubt Ranganātha-Rājagaṇḍagōpāla of Nellore, and the Drāviḷas whose army Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla destroyed were his allies the Pāṇḍyas, whom Bōlinēniṅgāru in the Uppu-Māgaḷūru inscription cited above is also said to have vanquished. The expedition appears to have been completely successful, and Ranganātha most probably refrained from rising against his overlord for several years after this defeat. Malik Nā'ib Kāfur's invasion of Teliṅgāna, however, gave him a fresh opportunity to establish his independence. Taking advantage of Pratāparudra's defeat and consequent loss of prestige, he rose in rebellion once again, but fortune did not favour him. *Mahāpradhāna* Muppiḍi Nāyaka, at the instance of Pratāparudra, set out, as already mentioned, at the head of a large army, accompanied by his son Pedda Rudra and other officers; he overran the kingdom of Nellore, expelled Ranganātha from his dominions, and made himself master of the coastal region extending as far as Kāñchī in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. With the defeat and flight of Ranganātha, the Telugu Chōḷa kingdom of Nellore disappeared, and Nellore finally lost its political importance.

The Koṭṭyadona family was probably connected with Ōpili Siddhi who conquered the district of Kamma-nāḍu at the instance of Gaṇapati. Manuma Gaṇḍagōpāla, a scion of the Nellore Chōḷa family, has already been noticed. According to his epigraph at Uppu-Māgaḷūru he was the eldest of the five sons of Nalla Siddhi, the second son of king Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore. He was a loyal vassal of Pratāparudra, to whom he attributes all his prosperity.¹ The part played by him in the southern expedition of Bōlinēniṅgāru in A.D. 1296 has been described above; it is not known how long he continued to serve the king after this event.

Teluṅgu Bijjana was another Telugu Chōḷa prince who seems to have acquired great fame as a warrior under Pratāparudra. His family affiliations, however, are not definitely known. Bijjana's name is coupled with that of the Velama chief Pōtugaṇṭi Maili in the *prastāvis* of the Velama families preserved in the *Velugōḷivāri-Vaṁśāvali*. He is said to have paid a visit to Delhi in the company of the seventy-seven *nāyakas* of Pratāparudra's court, and to have fought an exhibition duel with Maili at the *Dākhōl* in the presence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn and Malik Nā'ib, in which contest he was vanquished. The reason for this duel between these two nobles, both then in the service of the Kākaṭīya monarch in the imperial capital, is nowhere stated. It was probably arranged to satisfy the curiosity of the Sultān and his court, who desired to witness a display of the swordsmanship for which the Deccanīs had always been famous.²

Another clan of these feudatories which played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom in Pratāparudra's time was that of the Reḍḍis of the Cheraku family. They were natives of Malyāla in the Nandikotkur *tāluk* of

¹ *SII*, iv, 661. *Pratāparudra-bhūpaṇya-prasād-ārjita-vaibhavaḥ*.

² *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp. 41-42.

the Kurnool district, and members of the family always bore the title *mahā-sāmanta*, or 'the great feudatory'. The *Mahāsāmanta* Cheraku Bollaya Redḍi, son of Cheraku Peda Dēvaya, is the first member of the family to make his appearance in the inscriptions;¹ from the fact that he is referred to as Manuma-Bollaya or 'grandson-Bollaya' it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was called after his grandfather who had borne the same name.² Bollaya had two or three sons. One of these, Rājanna, became an adherent of the Kāyastha king Ambadēva;³ for there is reason to believe that he went over to the side of the latter and fought with him against Pratāparudra. In the introduction to Dōnēru Kōnērūnātha's *Dvīpada-Bālabhāgavatam*, Tāta Pinnama, the progenitor of the later Ārēviḍu family, is said to have led an expedition against the Cheraku chiefs; Rājanna, who is there represented as the perpetrator of all kinds of evil deeds, offered resistance, but was overthrown in battle, as a consequence of which he forfeited his right to the succession and was deprived of his principality.⁴ The Cherakus themselves, however, did not lose their possessions, since Rudradēva and Rācha-Rudradēva, both sons of Bollaya Redḍi,⁵ as well as the *Mahāsāmantas* Cheraku Jagaddālu Māraya Gaṇapaya Redḍi, Cheraku Jagaddālu Annaya or Annama Redḍi, and Cheraku Mahēśvara Redḍi,⁶ all continued to rule their hereditary estates as Pratāparudra's vassals until almost the end of his reign.

The Velamas or Padmanāyakas, as they are sometimes called, especially those of the Rēcherla family, played an important part in the history of the Kākatīyas. A certain Mummaḍi Nāyaḍu, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kontāla Nāgi Nayaḍu of the Rēcherla-*kula*, is mentioned in an epigraph at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1213 (A.D. 1291).⁷ Although in the record he is styled *sakala-sēnādhipati*, the commander-in-chief of the whole army, his achievements are not known; nor is it possible to determine his place in the family pedigree of the Rēcherla chiefs described in the *Velugōtivarī-Vamśāvali*. The services rendered by several other members of the family in the wars of Pratāparudra are, however, detailed at some length in this chronicle. Vennama, son of Dāma, led his troops in a defeat of the Musalmāns, very probably during 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī's first invasion of Telīngāṇa in A.D. 1303. It is not unlikely that this incident took place on the battlefield of Upparapalli, where Pōtugaṇṭi Maili is said to have put the Moslem army to flight. Erra Dācha and Nalla Dācha, sons respectively of Vennama and his younger brother Sabbi, distinguished themselves in the Pāṇḍyan invasion in A.D. 1316; Siṅgama I, with Venna and Ēcha, sons of Erra Dācha, took a prominent part in the defence of the kingdom at the time of the Tughluq invasions in A.D. 1323. Siṅgama I, according to the *Paradārasōdara-Rāmanāthana-kathe*, also led

¹ AR, 321 of 1937-8.

AR, 22 of 1942-3.

³ III, x, 463.

⁴ *Bharatī*, vi, p. 848.

⁵ AR, 22 of 1942-3 and 35 of 1943-4.

⁶ III, x, 489, 494, 508; AR, 44 of 1943-4.

⁷ III, x, 471.

the Kākatiya expedition against Kampili where he suffered defeat at the hands of Kumāra Rāmanātha.¹

The ministers of Pratāparudra may be classified under two heads, *mahāpradhānas* and *pradhānas*. The *mahāpradhānas* were the highest in rank. They served the state in different capacities, as the members of the king's ministerial council, as heads of departments, and as governors of provinces. The *Mahāpradhānas* Vēpēti Kommayyāṅgāru, Gaṅgidēva, and Indulūri Gannaya appear to have been members of the king's council of ministers, and very probably it was they who guided the policy of the state.² *Mahāpradhānas* like Pōchirāju Peddi, on the other hand, seem to have been mere administrative officers; for this person bore the title of *sarvādīkārī*, an office which was conferred even on such less exalted persons as Salakamu Ellaya Reddi, Nēmāni Tammaya Pregarā, &c., who certainly did not belong to the ministerial cadre.³ *Mahāpradhānas* like Muppiḍi Nāyaka and Juṭṭaya-leṅka Goṅkā Reddi were in charge of the government of the provinces; the former is also spoken of as the *kāryakarta* (agent) and the *pratinidhi* (representative) of the king and ruled over the Nellore-*rājya*, which extended from Addanki in the Guntur district to Kāñchipuram in the South.⁴ The latter, who is said to have been anointed to the office by the king himself in person, governed several districts including Muliki-nāḍu, Sakili, Pottapi-nāḍu, and Gaṇḍi-kōṭa; Kolani Rudradēva,⁵ although his name is not associated in the inscriptions with the government of any particular province, was in fact in charge of the Vēṅgī country with his headquarters at Kolanu, the modern Ellore, in the West Gōḍavārī district. From the *Śivayōgasāram* we learn that he was the son of Indulūri Sōmaya, one of the *mahāpradhānas* and commanders of Gaṇapati, whom that monarch appointed as the governor of Kolanu after its conquest. His son Rudradēva succeeded him in the office, and was given the surname of Kolani (or Kolanu) on account of his official connexion with and continued residence in that town.⁶

The *pradhānas* in general were probably mere administrative officers; the *pradhāni* Kāmanēni Boppaniṅgāru for instance held the office of *puravari*, superintendent of revenue,⁷ though in the case of Indulūri Annaya an exception seems to have been made, probably on account of his marriage with Pratāparudra's maternal aunt Ruyyama;⁸ for he is described in an epigraph at Dāksharāmam as a *sachiya* and *mantri-chūdāmaṇi*.⁹ All the ministers and other officials held commissions in the army in virtue of the *nāyaṅkara* system, and fought in the various wars which the king waged on his enemies, whilst some of them, like Muppiḍi Nāyaka and Juṭṭaya-leṅka Goṅkā Reddi, won military fame as great commanders and conquerors; the first led a victorious

¹ *Vēṅgōtīnari Vamśāvali*: Introduction pp. 4-9, Kampili and Vijayanagara p. 9.

² *SII*, iv, 1307; *Tel. Ins. Kāk.*, 45; *SII*, x, 503.

³ *NI*, vol. ii, Kr. 23, N. 8; *JOR*, xii, pp. 215-16.

⁴ *The Kākatiya Samichika*, App. p. 15.

⁵ *SII*, x, 467; *The Kākatiya Samichika*, App. p. 14.

⁶ *SII*, x, 480, 497, 530.

⁷ *SII*, x, 535, 557.

⁸ *NI*, vol. ii, O. 49.

⁹ *SII*, iv, 1307.

expedition against the Pāṇḍyas and brought the coastal region as far as Kāñchi under the control of his sovereign, and the second put down the rebellion of the Kāyasthas and reconquered Muliki-nāḍu, Sakali, Pottapi-nāḍu, and Gaṇḍikōṭa.

The military officers also fall into two classes, the *sāhiṇis* and the *sēnādhipatis*. The term *sāhiṇi*, a derivative of the Sanskrit word *sādhana* through the Prakrit *sāhaṇa*, denotes an officer appointed to oversee the training of animals, especially horses and elephants, for the purposes of war. Those who trained horses were known as *aśva-sāhiṇis* while those responsible for the elephants were called *gaja-sāhiṇis*. Mārāya Sāhiṇi and Pōṭaya Sāhiṇi belonged to the former class, Guṇḍaya Nāyaka, Dāḍi Virāya Nāyaka, Mādāya Nāyaka, and Māchaya Nāyaka to the latter;¹ some of the *sāhiṇis* such as Dāḍi Virāya and Sōmayanāyaniṅāru are termed *paṭṭa-sāhiṇis* or *rāya-paṭṭa sāhiṇis*.² Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya, who is said to have been the chief of the elephant forces of the Kākatiya king, and the 'moon to the ocean of the kingdom of the lord of nine lakhs of archers', must be mentioned in this context. He was in all probability one of the *mahārāya-gaja-sāhiṇis* in the service of Pratāparudra.³ How these officials differed from the two classes of *sāhiṇis* mentioned above is not definitely known; it is not unlikely that they were attached to the king's personal forces, whereas the others were assigned to the troops maintained by the *nāyakas*. Though the main duty of the *sāhiṇis* was the preliminary training of the cavalry and the elephants, they were not exempt from active service in the field. Some of them, like Mācheya Sāhiṇi and Sōmayanāyaniṅāru, were doughty warriors. The latter, for instance, led the expedition against the Kāyasthas in A.D. 1309 and overran their territories.⁴ Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya who was mentioned above appears to have rendered valuable services in some of these wars: he is said to have been 'the fire of destruction to the Yavana (i.e. Muslim) army'; and 'the ravager of the pleasure-gardens of the city of Kummaṭha'.⁵

There appear to have been two grades of *sēnādhipatis*, the *sakala-sēnādhipatis* and the *mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhipatis*. Somayājula Rudradēva and Rēcherla Mummaḍi-Nāyaka held the office of *sakala-sēnādhipati* in Ś. 1213,⁶ while Aḍidam Mallu in Ś. 1216, Rudradēva in Ś. 1218 and Ś. 1219, and Sōmaya-leṅka in Ś. 1240 were *mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhipatis*.⁷ The distinction between the *sakala-sēnādhipati* and *mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhipati* is somewhat obscure, their respective position and rank being undefined in our sources. The former was perhaps the commander-in-chief of the entire army, and the latter only the head of a section of it comprising the king's personal forces.

¹ *SII*, x, 300; *AR*, 24 of 1929-30; *NI*, vol. i, D. 12; *Telingāpa Inscriptions*, Revised (but unpublished) 126, 123; *SII*, x, 488, 500.

² *SII*, x, 501; *AR*, 260 of 1935-6.

³ Śrinātha, *Bhīmāvarapurāṇam*, 1: 48.

⁴ Ch. Virabhadra Rao, *History of the Age of the Kakatiya Kings*, pp. 548-9.

⁵ Śrinātha, *Bhīmāvarapurāṇam*, 1: 48.

⁶ *SII*, x, 469, 471.

⁷ *SII*, x, 479, 480, 482, 483, 522, and 523.

The exact position of some of the most distinguished generals of Pratāparudra such as Muppiḍi Nāyaka, Juṭṭaya-*leṅka* Goṅkā Redḍi or Dēvari Nāyaniṅgāru in the Kākatiya army is not known to us. Inscriptions no doubt eloquently proclaim their titles and the offices they held in the civil administration of the kingdom, but hardly ever refer to their rank and status in the army. Muppiḍi Nāyaka indeed ranked as a *mahāpradhāna*; as we have mentioned above, he was the governor of the Nellore-*rājya*, and a *kāryakarta* and the *pratinidhi* of the king.¹ Juṭṭaya-*leṅka* Goṅkā Redḍi, as we have seen, was the governor of Muliki-nāḍu, Sakili, Pottapi-nāḍu and Gaṇḍikōṭa; his titles, *birudaṅka-Rudra*, *pratijñā-Parasurāma*, *biruda-brahma-rākshasa*, and *Mallidēva-pratimalla*, witness to his military prowess;² Dēvari Nāyaniṅgāru apparently held no administrative office as did the other two. He was a great warrior who defeated the Pāṇḍyas and carried the Kākatiya arms victoriously to the banks of the Kāvērī. He bore several high-sounding titles, as his father, Māchaya Nāyaka, had done before him, but none of them, excepting perhaps that of *Kākati-rāja-sthāpanāchārya*, 'the establisher of the Kākatiya king', which he received in addition to these, refers to any military achievement.³ Several other officers of the king such as Beṇḍapūḍi Annaya and Immaḍi Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, son of a certain Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, laid claim to the same distinction.⁴ What it was intended to signify is not clear. The suggestion that it refers to his rescue of the kingdom from the Muslim invasions is hardly tenable,⁵ since it was borne by the Immaḍi Mallikārjuna Nāyaka just mentioned as early as Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290).⁶

The Telugu poet Mārana mentions in his *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇam* certain officers in the service of Pratāparudra not known from other sources. Nāgaya Gannaya is said to have obtained from Pratāparudra the insignia of authority and the position of a *nāyaka* by his administrative ability and courage in the field. He became the *kaṭakapāla* (the governor of the capital) of the Kākatiya monarch. His two younger brothers Ellaya and Māchaya are also said to have been military commanders.⁷ Gannaya was probably identical with Kannu (Kattu), the officer who, according to the historian Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, accompanied Pratāparudra to his captivity in Delhi and who, on the death of his master on the way during the journey, embraced Islām and was renamed Malik Maqbul Tilangi by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.⁸

Several *leṅkas* who served under Pratāparudra in various capacities appear in the inscriptions. The most important of them was no doubt the Juṭṭaya-*leṅka* Goṅkā Redḍi of whom much has been said already. He had a younger brother called Rudraya who was also a member of the society.⁹ Yet another

¹ NI, vol. ii, Kt, 1, 23, 84, N. 80. O., 1291.

² III, x, 536; AR, 5 of 1939-40.

³ Śrinātha: *Bhīmāvarapurāṇam*, 1: 48; *Corpus* 35.

⁴ *Corpus*, 35.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, ED, iii, p. 367.

⁶ II, x, 495, 505.

⁷ ARE, 1910, Part ii, 48.

⁸ *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇam*, 1: 39-43.

⁹ AR, 5 of 1939-40.

member of the *leṅka* fraternity who occupied an exalted office in the state was the *Mahārāya-sakala-sēnādhipati* Sōmaya-*leṅka*, father of Pōchu-*leṅka*, and probably identical with the *leṅka* of the same name mentioned in an epigraph at Kārempūḍi in the Guntur district, dated Ś. 1225 (A.D. 1303).¹ The *leṅkas*, like the other servants of the state, held *nāyaṅkaras* granted to them for their maintenance. Māyidēva-*leṅka* for instance held the Koṇḍūri-*sthala* consisting of eighteen villages,² whilst a group of four *leṅkas* consisting of Tikkaya Raudraya *leṅka*, Mārāya-*leṅka*, Pichchiya-*leṅka*, and Rudraya-*leṅka* held the Koppāram-*sthala* as *nāyaṅkara*.³ Some of these were on the personal staff of the king. Pōchu-*leṅka* mentioned above was the king's *aḍapam* (bearer of the betel-bag),⁴ Peddeya-*leṅka* was the holder of *ālavaṭṭam* (a large fan),⁵ and Erreya-*leṅka* was the *aṅgarakṣha* (guard) of the palace.⁶ Besides these, the names of Arṇnu-*leṅka* of Anumakonda,⁷ Annaya-*leṅka* a younger brother of Rāyagajasāhini Mādāya Redḍi,⁸ Immaḍi-*leṅka*,⁹ Dēcheya-*leṅka* and Pinnaya-*leṅka* appear in the inscriptions;¹⁰ how these persons were employed in the service of the state is, however, not known.

¹ *III*, x, 522, 523.

⁴ *Ibid.* x, 491.

⁷ *Corpus*, 53.

⁹ *AR*, no. 317 of 1930-1.

² *Ibid.* x, 521.

⁵ *Ibid.* x, 520.

⁸ *Teliṅgāna Inscriptions Revised* (unpublished), No. 127.

¹⁰ *AR*, 313 of 1932-3; *NI*, vol. ii, O. 8.

³ *Ibid.* x, 533.

⁶ *III*, x, 509.

III

KĀKATĪYA MILITARY INSTITUTIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

Sources

MUCH valuable information, though not of a precise character, is available about the Kākatīya administration and military institutions. Beside the inscriptions of the Kākatīya monarchs, and of their feudatories and subordinates, a few works on the *rājanīti* deserve consideration, since they throw some interesting light on the subject. Although the works on the *rājanīti* are generally based on the Sanskrit text-books on polity, they embody information on several topics not found elsewhere. Of these, two books, the *Nitiśāstramuktāvali* of Baddena, and the *Sakalanītisammataṃ* of Maḍiki Siṅgana demand special attention. Baddena was a feudatory of Gaṇapati and Rudrāmbā; and as for Singana, though he flourished in the post-Kākatīya period, and composed his *Sakalanītisammataṃ* very probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., yet his work is of inestimable value to the student of Kākatīya history. The *Sakalanītisammataṃ* is not a single original composition but rather a collection of extracts culled from earlier books on polity such as Baddena's *Nitiśāstramuktāvali*, Śivadēvayya's *Puruṣhārthasāram*, Pratāparudra's *Nitisāram*, etc., all of which were written during the Kākatīya period. It may be noted that the authors of these works were not scholars indulging in mere speculation, but statesmen devoting most of their time to the practical administration of the kingdom. Though they seem to lay emphasis on the theoretical side, their works call for serious notice, because their views must have exercised a profound influence on the political and administrative institutions of the period and have brought theory nearer to practice.

Military Organization

The Kākatīyas devoted much of their energies to safeguarding their dominions from internal troubles and foreign invasions. In dealing with the military organization of the Kākatīya kingdom, two important facts demand special notice. In the first place, forts played a dominant part in the defence of the realm. Considerable space is devoted in the contemporary works on the *rājanīti* to the description of these forts, their classification, and their strategic importance in the work of organizing the defence of the country. The *Puruṣhārthasāram* points out that just as tigers, elephants, and lions are protected respectively by the shrubbery, the hills, and the caves, so a human being, however powerful he may be, needs a fort for protection; he who has no fort, it adds, resembles an elephant that does not rut or a snake devoid of its

fangs. We know that it is hard to overcome a person surrounded even by a slight fence, and therefore how much more difficult it must necessarily be to vanquish a king who establishes himself within a strong fortress.¹ According to the *Nītisāra* of Pratāparudra, it is a network of forts which enables a kingdom to endure for a long time. Following, no doubt, older Sanskrit works on polity, he divides forts into four classes. 'They are', says he, 'of four kinds; *sthala*, *jala*, *vana*, and *parvata (giri)*; that which is surrounded by a wall of fortification built upon the ground is called *sthala-durga*; and those which are surrounded by water and forests are known as *jala* and *vana durgas* respectively; whilst that built on the top or slopes of a hill is spoken of as a *parvata* or *giri-durga*. Although the last three are in themselves natural fortresses, they can be easily occupied by the enemy without walls of fortification. The forts, to whichever of the four classes mentioned above they may belong, must have special *aṭṭālakas* (rooms) over the *gōpuras* (gates) fitted with sundry wooden contrivances (machines), guarded by warriors adept in military exercises and the use of sundry missiles and weapons of warfare, and well stocked with money, grain, condiments, &c. They should have several extensive open grounds inside to facilitate the free movement of large bodies of men; and they should be provided with plentiful supplies of grass, fuel, and water, and have passages for the entry and the exit of people without obstruction. A fort which is not so provided is but a 'pig-sty'. The *Nītisāra* also describes the precautionary measures to be taken for the protection of the fort. Strong guards must be posted at the gates to watch them by day and by night; the garrison of the fort must be stationed at a suitable place; watches should be kept over the defiles or the passes in the hills (in the neighbourhood); efficient men should be posted to guard the central hall of audience; sentries should patrol around the palace; and *talavaris* (watchmen) should be sent into the streets and the lanes. The daily life in army camps should be subjected to careful scrutiny; men with torches should go round the fort continuously at night; the captains, commanders, and all the fighting men should be well fed and properly treated, so that there may be no room for discontent.² The four-fold classification of the forts mentioned in the *Nītisāra* was known in the Kākatīya times, as is attested by the evidence of inscriptions. The Kāyastha chief Arṇbadēva, for instance, is described in an inscription at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290) as a *giri-durga-vajra-nipāta* (stroke of the thunderbolt to the hill-forts), a *vanadurga-dāvānala* (wild-fire to the forest forts), a *jaladurga-baḍabānala* (submarine fire to the water-forts), and a *sthaladurga-samichūrṇana* (pulverizer or smasher of land-forts).³ Anumakoṇḍa, Rāichūr, and Gaṇḍī-kōṭa among the *giri-durgas*; Kandūr and Nārāyaṇavanam among the *vanadurgas*; Dīvi and Kolanu among the *jala-durgas*; and Warangal, and Dharaṇkōṭai among the *sthaladurgas* were reckoned as the most famous strongholds in the

¹ *Sakalanītiśammatamu* I: 48, 50, 52.

² *Ibid.*, 60, 61.

³ *AR*, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465.

Kākatīya period. The regulations laid down by Pratāparudra for the protection of the forts envisage only the common precautionary measures indispensable for their proper defence; it is not unlikely that he embodied in his treatise the knowledge which he had gathered from his own practical experience.

Secondly, the administration of the kingdom was organized on a military basis. The Kākatīyas appear to have apportioned their territories among a number of military chiefs known as *nāyakas*. Several of these *nāyakas*, and the *nāyaka-sthalas* or the *nāyaka-sthala-vṛttis*, as the estates were called which were granted to these *nāyakas* to secure for them the requisite economic basis for the proper discharge of the duties pertaining to their office, are mentioned in the Kākatīya inscriptions. Obviously the *nāyamikara* system which became a prominent feature of the administration later under the Vijayanagara emperors was already in existence at this time, though its character and its political and military obligations are nowhere precisely defined. The *Nītisāra* of Pratāparudra, however, seems to throw some light on the subject. The king, according to this work, should assign only small villages to the *sāmantas*, reserving the big ones for the upkeep of the four-fold army and the replenishment of the treasury.¹ This suggestion must not be dismissed as mere theoretical speculation. Pratāparudra seems to have kept in mind the administrative system obtaining in his dominions, while laying down these rules. The *sāmantas* are apparently the *nāyakas* who obtained grants of lands from the Kākatīya monarchs to enable them to support their position. It is interesting to note that the villages which they held as feudal vassals fell into two classes, small and large. The former were given to them in lieu of salary; they had to maintain themselves from the income derived from the rents whether in money or kind. From the proceeds of the latter, the larger estates, the *nāyakas* had to maintain for the service of the king a stipulated body of troops, elephants, horse and foot, and in addition to pay a sum of money into the royal treasury every year as tribute. Baddena urges that the king himself should maintain a stronger military force as his private guard than he should allow to any one of his *sāmantas*; since otherwise it would not be possible for him to enforce his authority in case of insubordination or revolt. The Kākatīyas were, as a matter of fact, always extremely apprehensive regarding the excessive growth of the power of their *nāyakas*; for this reason, they never allowed the *nāyakas* to remain in one place and strike root there permanently. From the tradition preserved in the *Pratāpacharitra* we learn that Pratāparudra entrusted the defence of the seventy-seven bastions of his capital city Warangal to seventy-seven *nāyakas* of the Velama community, allotting to them a fourth of his kingdom as estates to enable them to discharge efficiently the duties pertaining to their office.² This statement is in the main corroborated by the contemporary and near contemporary epigraphic evidence, despite differences regarding the number and the communal affiliations of the *nāyakas*. The

¹ *Sakalanītiśammatanu*, 1: 248.

² *JTA*, vii, pp. 287-8.

number of the *nāyakas* is said to have been seventy-five and not seventy-seven;¹ nor did they all belong exclusively to the Velama community. The *nāyaka* system became a characteristic feature of South Indian Hindu polity in subsequent ages. The Rāyas of Vijayanagara who inherited it from the Kākatiyas bequeathed it to the Nāyaka kings of the South, especially to those of Madura, where it flourished continuously up to the advent of the British.

The Army

Though *rājanīti* works like the *Nītisāra* lay it down as a principle that kings should maintain an army comprising four classes of troops, viz. chariots, elephants, horses, and foot, the first of these had gone out of use long before the age of the Kākatiyas. The Kākatiya army, like that of the other Indian States of the period, was made up of three arms, namely, elephants, cavalry, and infantry. According to contemporary sources, it consisted in the days of Pratāparudra of one hundred elephants, twenty thousand horses, and nine lakhs of archers.² No definite information is available about the way in which the Kākatiya monarchs gathered their forces. The elephants were perhaps partly captured from the forests of the Eastern Ghats and partly acquired by purchase from such countries as Kalinga, Burma, and Ceylon, where they flourished in a wild state. As horses were not largely bred anywhere in India except in Sindh, they were necessarily imported from abroad, especially from Iraq, Iran, and Arabia. And since military service was not subjected to any communal restrictions, it was possible for anyone who wished to adopt the profession of arms to enlist as a soldier irrespective of the caste or creed to which he might belong. The existence of the offices of the *gajasāhiṇi* and the *aśvasāhiṇi* indicates that the practice was in vogue of training both elephants and horses for the purposes of war. An officer of the name of *paṭṭasāhiṇi rāya-* or *mahārāya-paṭṭasāhiṇi* is sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions. Obviously he was an officer attached to the royal establishment, though it is not easy to find out exactly what his functions were. We have no evidence as to whether the practice of drilling the foot-soldiers and instructing them how to combine in mass movements on the battlefield was known at the time. But doubtless all persons desirous of following the military profession were able to get instruction in the gymnasia and to acquire skill in wielding the sword, the buckler, the lance, the bow, and other weapons of warfare.

The Kākatiya army fell into two divisions, the royal forces and the *nāyaka* levies. How these were officered and commanded is not known, though *daṇḍādhipatis* and *sēnādhipatis* are both frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. The king was the *ipso facto* commander-in-chief of the whole army by virtue of his office. Very often he actually took the field in person. Rudra and Mahādēva both fell in battle; Gaṇapati was taken prisoner while fighting by

¹ *AR*, 268 of 1905; *SII*, x, 465 'panch-ādika-saptati kshiti-bhritān', *Bhārati*, Tārana, Jyēsthā, p. 555 'Panchōttara-saptati-nāyaka.

² *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 34.

the side of his father; and even Rudramadēvi, if we can rely on general tradition, donned male attire, put on armour, and fought with the Yādava king Mahādēva when he came to invest her capital. The king was usually accompanied by a number of officers called *aṅgarakshas* whose special duty it was to guard his person and palace. Beside the *aṅgarakshas* a body of *leṅkas* or companions-at-arms, who called themselves his sons and who shared his board, fought by his side. The *leṅkas* were slaves who had entered into a covenant with their lord to devote themselves exclusively to his service. They took an oath (*bāsa*) to look on their lord as their *guru* and deity in this world and the next, to have no regard either for their own property or for their lives in furtherance of his interests, to stand by him in the hour of danger, to fight his battles, either to perish with him in the clash of arms or to kill themselves if they should chance to survive him.¹ However, no instance of the immolation of the *leṅkas* after the death of their master is actually on record in the Telugu country, though such occurrences did take place in the neighbouring Kārṇāṭaka, as illustrated by the example of the *Garuḍas* under the Hoysalas.² The ideal of conduct which the *leṅkas* were expected to follow was indeed lofty. It will be of interest here to cite the chief characteristics of a *leṅka* as described in an inscription of A.D. 1045: "Truth should be his utterance, praise (of his master) his work, charity his recreation, succour of the distressed seeking his protection his merit, and unflinching attitude in a great battle his prime concern."³ The duties and obligations of the *leṅkas* were collectively known as the *leṅka-vāḷi* and in return for their performance the *leṅkas* were granted estates by the king out of the proceeds of which they were to maintain themselves. The royal feudatories and the *nāyakas* dependent on the kings also maintained *leṅkas* in their private services, so that these retainers became a common feature of Āndhra society during the middle ages.

A number of commanders and officers are mentioned by name in the inscriptions, but no exact information is available about the way in which the military hierarchy was organized. Distinguished service in the army was frequently rewarded by the grant of landed estates and the conferment of titles and badges of honour by the king. Titles such as *kōṭa gelpāta*, *dvīpī-luṁṭāka*, *velanāḷi-dūshaka*, *Kāñchi-kavāṣa-chūrakāra*, and *Sūryavaṁśa-sthāpan-āchārya* were bestowed on their respective bearers to commemorate important historic events with which they had been specially associated. Some of the *birudas* such as the *mūru-rāya-jagaddaḷa* and probably also the *chalamarathi-gaṇḍa* had special insignia attached to them. The *gaṇḍa-peṇḍēra* or 'anklet of the heroes' was a common decoration bestowed on distinguished men for meritorious service.

The Government

The Kākatīya government like that of the other Hindu states was a monarchy. Though the crown usually descended, as in the other states, in the

¹ *JOR*, xiv, p. 109.

² *EC*, v, Bl. 112.

³ *AR*, 443 of 1914; *JII*, ix, i, No. 101.

male line from father to son, the Kākatiya dynasty alone presents a unique example of a female ruler who sat upon the throne and exercised royal authority in her own right. Nevertheless the prejudice against the rule of a woman was so strong that even this lady had to adopt a male name and to attire herself in male garments, whilst holding court. The practice of a ruling monarch taking the heir to the throne into partnership in the governance of the kingdom appears to have come into vogue late in the history of the dynasty. Gaṇapati had made his daughter Rudramadēvi his co-regent during the closing years of his reign and she in her turn followed the example of her father by associating her grandson and heir Pratāparudra with herself in the administration of the kingdom. The king or the queen, as the case might be, was the supreme head of the state; he or she was the pivot about which the entire structure of government moved. The monarch was the source of all power, though his power was not absolutely unfettered autocracy. It was subjected, as in all other Hindu states, to the limitations imposed by the *dharma* and ancient custom of the land which he was not allowed to override. The *dharma* which he had to observe was mainly *varṇa-dharma* or *dharma* pertaining to the castes. It was the duty of the king to see that the members of each caste followed the *dharma* peculiar to that caste and to punish those who trespassed against it. Ambadēva, the Kāyastha ruler of Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa, for instance, speaks of himself in an inscription at Tripurāntakam dated Ś. 1212 (A.D. 1290) as *chatur-varṇa-samuddharaṇa* and takes credit for putting to death a certain Mallikārijuna, sinner and violator of the *dharma*, who was the enemy of gods and brāhmins.¹

The qualifications required of a monarch by the composers of treatises on *rājaniṭi* are indeed very high. A king, according to them, should be well-versed in the Vedas and the *śāstras* and proficient in political science, art, and literature. He should be wise and just and regard himself as the father of his subjects, in whose interests he should rule the kingdom. He should be economical in his habits, and treat his servants and dependants with kindness and consideration. He should use his discretion and judgement with due propriety in the choice of his servants and should select the good and take care to avoid the wicked. How far the Kākatiya monarchs came up to the standard of the political thinkers of the age cannot be ascertained, though it is not improbable that some of them, such as Gaṇapati and Pratāparudra, judging from the great popularity which they seem to have enjoyed in their lifetime, attained very nearly to the ideal of the perfect ruler as laid down by the philosophers.

According to the *Nītisāra* of Pratāparudra the king should grant frequent audiences to his subjects at prescribed times. Since he does not hear complaints without a previous appointment, they will be left without redress unless they have regular opportunities of submitting their grievances to him. It is stated

¹ *AR*, 174 and 268 of 1905; *SH*, x, 464 and 465.

in the *Mudrāmātyam* that whilst a king holds a durbar the women-folk should stand behind him, the poets to his right, the *vandis* (the bards) who praise him to his left, and the singers in front of him. His ministers, his relatives, and the princes, with officers of the standing army and learned men, should surround him.¹

The Kākatīya monarchs were assisted in the government of the kingdom by a large number of ministers. Although *mahāpradhānas*, *pradhānas*, *preggeḍas*, *amātyas*, and *mantrins* are mentioned in the inscriptions and the Telugu literature of the period, yet unfortunately no information is available about the way in which they were organized or how they helped the monarch in transacting the business of the state. Much importance is, no doubt, attached to the office of the minister in the works on *rājanīti*. A *mantrin* was recognized from very ancient times onwards as one of the *saptāṅgas* (the seven constituent members) of the body politic. A king who has no minister to advise him is compared to an elephant without its trunk. The king is required to exercise great caution in the choice of his ministers and the delegation of powers to them. He should, according to the *Nṛtiśāstramuktāvali* of Baddena, avoid an ignorant man even though he may happen to be a personal friend, and should appoint a wise and trustworthy person as the minister. He should place confidence in people noted for their discretion and loyalty, and should avoid fickle-minded individuals who are likely to divulge the secrets of the council. He should not make any minister head of the government of the state; for a minister entrusted with such unlimited authority would become too powerful and wealthy. The respective positions of the king and the minister in a state should not be reversed, for the excessive growth of the power of any single member of the body politic would destroy the majesty of the regal state and ruin the kingdom. The Kākatīya monarchs appear to have paid due regard in this matter to the maxims of the political thinkers, for during the period of their rule no instance is on record of any minister who passed the limits of his authority and usurped the power of his sovereign. At the same time the injunctions of the *rājanīti* were not invariably observed in all respects. The king, for instance, is required to appoint as his ministers brāhmanas well versed in the Vedas, the *śāstras*, and political science. The Kākatīyas (who perhaps came originally from the Śūdra caste) do not seem to have paid much attention to this rule, for they did not restrict their choice to any single community in selecting their ministers. The instances of Malyāla Hēmādri Reḍḍi and of Muppiḍi Nāyaka, who held the office of *Mahāpradhāna* respectively² under Gaṇapatidēva and Pratāparudra, show that they selected their ministers from all the principal classes and castes of their subjects. Merit was probably the criterion when making appointments to the public service; the example of Vellaki Gaṅgādhara, who, starting his career as an

¹ *Sakalanītiśāstramuktāvali*: 1:167, 168, 170.

² *AR*, 411 of 1893; *SII*, iv, 1333; *NDI*, vol. 1, Kr, 1.

official in the royal palace under Prôla II, was subsequently promoted to the office of an *amātya* or minister by his son and successor Rudra on account of his loyalty and his efficient discharge of his duties, indicates that weight was attached by the king to pure merit when filling vacant ministerial positions. The appointment of a person to the office of a minister was invariably accompanied by the conferment of special insignia such as the palanquin, the white umbrella and a special dress, &c., beside the grant of *jīvita* or the *vritti* (land) pertaining to that *niyōga* (office) and presents of valuable ornaments and costly perfumes.¹ The number of ministers in the service of the king at any given time is not known. True, a passage in the *Sakalanītisammataṃ*, which is said to have been extracted from an old Telugu rendering of the *Kāmandakam*, mentions twenty-one (*muṣyēḍu*) *tīrthas* or ministers; but, in fact, it actually names only eighteen, viz. (1) *mantrin*, (2) *purōhita*, (3) *mantri-jan-ādhyakṣa*, (4) *sainyādhināyaka*, (5) *sannidhātri*, (6) *āṣṭavika*, (7) *prasāstra*, (8) *āyādha* (? *āyudhā*) *nāyaka*, (9) *vyāvahārika*, (10) *samāhartṛi*, (11) *daṇḍapāla*, (12) *durgapāla*, (13) *prāntapāla*, (14) *prādēśhṛi*, (15) *karmāntika*, (16) *antarvaṃśik-ādhyakṣa*, (17) *yuvarāja* and (18) *damvārika*.² It is interesting to note that this list of the *tīrthas* is not found in the available editions of the Sanskrit and Telugu *Kāmandakas*. Probably the author of the Telugu *Kāmandakamu* quoted in the *Sakalanītisammataṃ* copied this list into his translation from some other work on polity, since we know that the institution of the *tīrthas* was in existence in the country in his time. The term *tīrtha*, according to lexicographers, denotes a group of eighteen ministers, beginning with the *mantrin*, in the service of the king. The institution of the eighteen *tīrthas* is, as a matter of fact, not unknown to the Āndhrā polity in general. The Māṅgallu plates of the Eastern Chālukyan king Amma II Vijayāditya VI (A.D. 945-970) mention also eighteen such *tīrthas* including the *mantrin*, *purōhita*, *sēnāpati*, and *yuvarāja*,³ whilst the inscriptions of his elder brother Dānārṇava and his descendants refer to the *damvārika*, *pradhāna*, and *ādhyakṣa* in addition to the other ministers cited above.⁴ Though some of the ministers included among the eighteen *tīrthas* are mentioned in the Kākatīya inscriptions, it is not possible, for lack of definite proof, to state whether the institution as such actually flourished under the Kākatīyas. It seems probable, however, that the Kākatīya ministers constituted a council or cabinet, for in the course of his daily routine, the king, according to the *Purushārthasāram*, should regularly join his ministers and deliberate with them on the affairs of the state.⁵ Another institution which deserves notice in this context is that of the *niyōgas*. Officials of all classes who were in the employ of the court—both civil and military officers and the royal household—were divided into *niyōgas* or categories, seventy-two in number, referred to collectively as *bāhattara*. They were under the super-

¹ *Corpus*, 56.² *Sakalanītisammataṃ*, 2:373.³ *AR*, Cp. 1 of 1916-17.⁴ *JAHRS*, xi, p. 87, *JTA*, vol. v, p. 410, *EI*, xxix, p. 69.⁵ *Sakalanītisammataṃ*, 1:143.

vision of a high-ranking officer of State called the *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati*. This is an ancient office going back to the early Chālukyan period. We find the *niyōg-ādhipati* mentioned in Eastern Chālukyan inscriptions as early as the time of Amma I.¹ This *niyōg-ādhipati* is indeed the fore-runner of the *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati* of later Western Chālukyan times. The Kākatīyas who in the early phase of their history were feudatories of the later Western Chālukyas, inherited the classification of officials into *niyōgas* from their overlords with other political institutions. Gaṇapati appointed the Kāyastha chief Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi to this important office in A.D. 1251, and bestowed on him the territory extending from Pānugal in the Nalgonda district to the fort of Kaivāram in the Kolar district.² Subsequent to his death Indulūri Gannaya, son of Gaṇapaya,³ and after him the Kāyastha chief Tripurāri or Tripurāntaka and *Mahāprdhāna* Pōmkala Mallaya Preḡgaḍa held this office under Rudrama-dēvi.⁴ What exactly the functions of the *bāhattara-niyōg-ādhipati* were is not definitely known. Whether he was a mere titular dignitary, or an officer ranking only below the king and wielding enormous power, cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge.

A full and accurate description of the territorial organization of the Kākatīya kingdom is not possible, because the data available on the subject are so scanty and meagre. However a few scattered notices collected from the inscriptions show that beside the village, which was the primary basis of the whole organization, the administrative divisions fell into two main classes, the *sthala* and the *nāḍu*. The former, which was the smaller of the two, consisted of a group of villages ranging perhaps from ten to sixty in number. The Mānūru-*sthala*, for instance, comprised twelve villages, the Koṇḍūru-*sthala* eighteen, the unnamed *sthala* granted to Yerrama Nāyaka as his *nāyamkara* twenty-two, and the Pallināṇḍu-Gurindāla-*sthala* sixty.⁵

Chadalavāḍa, Chaṇḍrūru, Gurindāla, Kavilāsam-kōṭa, Kōṭa, Kōvūru, Mahādēvicheṇṇa, Nandyāla, Piṅgaḷi, Rāvinūtula, Taṅgeḍa, Tēkumbeḍla, Indulādāya, Ādara, and Velanāḍu are some of the other *sthalas* which are referred to incidentally in the epigraphic records.⁶ The name of an analogous sub-division called the *kampapa* is also met with here and there.⁷ Several *sthalas* were combined to form a *nāḍu*. The names of twenty *nāḍus* such as the Anumakoṇḍa-*nāḍu*, Ayija-*nāḍu*, Goṇḍala-*nāḍu*, Kamma-*nāḍu*, Kandūru-*nāḍu*, Kan-*nāḍu* (Kaṇ-*nāḍu*), Kar-*nāḍu*, Kusala-*nāḍu*, Mārāṭa-*nāḍu*, Miṅgala-*nāḍu*, Muliki-*nāḍu*, Pāka-*nāḍu*, Palli-*nāḍu*, Pottapi-*nāḍu*, Pūṅgi-*nāḍu*, Rē-*nāḍu*, Vela-*nāḍu*, Vēṅgi-*nāḍu*, Visari-*nāḍu*, and Sabbi-*nāḍu* are known.⁸ Beside the *nāḍu*, two classes of territorial divisions called '*pāḍi*' and '*bhūmi*' as in Mārja-

¹ *SII*, i, 36.

² *AR*, No. 213 of 1905, *SII*, x, 465.

³ *SII*, x, 504, 509 and 521, *Corpus*, 53; *AR*, 307 of 1934-5.

⁴ *SII*, x, 409, 488, 495, 500, 504, 505, *Corpus* 54, *AR*, 135 of 1893.

⁵ *SII*, x, 332, 343.

⁶ *Ibid.* x, 355, 370, 371, 412, 422, 442, 448, 503, 504, 506, 536.

⁷ *AR*, 283 of 1905, *SII*, x, 332.

⁸ *NDI*, I. D. 1; *AR*, 321 of 1930-1.

(Mahārāja)-*vāḍi*, Moṭṭa-*vāḍi*, Nara-*vāḍi*, Nata-*vāḍi*, Āre-*bhūmi*, and Magatala-*bhūmi* also deserve consideration in this context.¹ The former was a survival from the past, whilst the latter occurs more frequently in the succeeding period. Some of the provinces, such as Peḍakallu, Sheḍḍem, Mudunūrikōṭa, and Gaṇḍikōṭa, seem to have taken their names from the important cities and forts situated within their respective jurisdictions.²

The villages in the kingdom fell into two main classes, according as they paid taxes to the government or were exempted from such payments. To whichever of these classes they belonged, they were invariably under the rule of a body of village officials called collectively the *āyagārs*. The origin of this system cannot be definitely traced. When and how these bodies supplanted the old village assemblies are questions about which we have no real information; by the time when the Kākatīyas were establishing their power over the Āndhra country, the *āyagārs* had already taken firm root in the soil and had begun to exercise authority in all the villages throughout the land. The term *āyam* means 'dimension, extent, or measure' as of a field. The *āyagārs*, therefore, denote people who hold *āyams* or fields of a certain extent granted to them free of tax by the villagers or by the State as payment for undertaking public services. Their names varied according to the locality; but they were generally twelve in number, though this number is occasionally exceeded. They were:

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| (1) <i>Karaṇam</i> | (7) Carpenter |
| (2) <i>Pedda-kāpu</i> or <i>Redḍi</i> . | (8) Potter |
| (3) <i>Talāri</i> | (9) Washerman |
| (4) <i>Purōhit</i> | (10) Barber |
| (5) Blacksmith | (11) <i>Veṭṭi</i> |
| (6) Goldsmith | (12) Shoemaker. |

The name of *Nirukaṭṭu* or waterman is met with in some villages.

The *karaṇam* (like the northern *paṣṭwāri*) kept the accounts and plans of the village, called collectively *gudikaṭṭu* or *āyakaṭṭu*, in which were set out the boundaries of each hamlet, the extent and the limits of the site, the crematorium, the lands owned by cultivators, the holders of the *vr̥ttis* and tax-free lands granted by the king to the brāhmins and to the temples, the origin and history of these, and in general everything concerning the land belonging to the village. Besides this he had to measure the extent and keep the accounts of the cultivable, the non-cultivable, and the waste lands, gardens, dry fields, and pastures. He was closely associated with the *reḍḍi* or *pedda-kāpu* in the administration of the village. This *reḍḍi* or the *pedda-kāpu* was the headman of the village. His main duty was to collect the taxes due to the State, as stipulated in the settlement of accounts, and he had to work in close co-operation with the *karaṇam* in realizing these payments. The *talāri* was the village policeman.

¹ Ibid. x, 422, 504.

² *III*, x, 504, 536.

It was his duty to protect the life and property of the villagers; he had to watch the movements of vagabonds, wandering bands of players, dancers, &c. He was held responsible for any property that might be stolen from the villagers and he had to make good all losses sustained by them if he failed to catch the thieves and regain the stolen goods. The *purōhit* was the village priest; it was his duty to conduct religious rites in the houses of the villagers and to fix auspicious days for ploughing the fields and harvesting the crops. The carpenter and the blacksmith made and repaired the agricultural implements. The goldsmith assayed the coin and measured the grain during the harvest. The potter supplied pots and jars, and the washerman and the barber performed the duties pertaining to their respective professions; the *veṭṭi* or waterman attended to various menial tasks, kept a watch over the tank-*bund*, and regulated the flow of water for irrigating the fields. The shoemaker, besides making sandals for the villagers, supplied the cultivators with leather ropes and buckets for drawing water from the wells.

The *āyagārs*, in addition to the tax-free lands granted to them in lieu of money payments, received also allotments of grain called *mēras* from the villagers. The cultivators had to measure out to each of them a quantity of paddy or other produce for every field, *kapīla*, or *khaṇḍuga*, as fixed by the custom of the village. Some of the *āyagārs*, especially the washerman and the barber, received doles of food on various festive occasions.

It is evident from the duties of the *āyagārs* described above that they were primarily the servants of the village rather than of the government. Indeed most of the *āyagārs*, all in fact excepting the *karaṇam*, *reḍḍi*, and *talāri*, had no direct connexion with the State. In the tax-free villages granted to brāhmins, temples, and other religious and charitable foundations, the first three, namely the *karaṇam*, the *reḍḍi*, and the *talāri*, were also freed from any obligations of direct service to the government; they had instead to serve the *mahājana-sabhas* of the *agrahāras*, the *sthānikas*, and the committees of management in the *dēvadēyas*. Nevertheless, the importance of the *āyagārs* in the village administration should not be underrated. They served as a link between the village-folk and the government.¹

Very little is known about the government of the *sthala*. But the term '*sthala-karaṇam*', which is occasionally met with in the records of the period, would seem to indicate that the *sthala* had its own office and staff of officials, including the *karaṇam* who was obviously responsible for keeping the registers pertaining to the land revenue of the district. Though several *nāḍus* are mentioned in inscriptions, little is known directly about their local organization. But if the *nāḍu* is in fact identical with the *janapada* of the *Nītisāra*, as seems probable, a few facts there related concerning this body may be of interest in this connexion. According to the *Nītisāra*, it is the function of the king to appoint *adhikāris* (superintendents or governors) of ministerial rank

¹ *Āndhrapatrika, Ugādi Samchika*, 1922, p. 157.

to govern the *janapadas*, since it is not possible for the ministers of the court to visit these personally.¹ This suggestion must not be dismissed as mere theoretical speculation, since Pratāparudra seems to have kept in mind the administrative system obtaining in his own kingdom whilst laying down these regulations; in fact, the Kākatiya provincial governors like Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Gaṅgaya Sāhiṇi, Juṭṭaya-leṇka Goṅkā Redḍi, and Mahāpradhāna Muppiḍi Nāyaka, who were appointed by Gaṇapati and Pratāparudra as the governors respectively of Mārja (Mahārāja)-vāḍi, and the Nellore-nāḍya,² seem to correspond approximately to the *adhikāris* of ministerial rank mentioned in the *Nītisāra*.

Irrigation

The Kākatiyas like the rulers of Āndhra in all ages paid much attention to the storage of water for the purposes of agriculture, which was of course the main source of the country's prosperity. They inherited a system of irrigation which had been in use in the land from times immemorial. The main feature of the system was the existence of a network of tanks or reservoirs in which rain-water was caught and stored for utilization in the cultivation of the soil. Excepting perhaps in the valleys and the deltas of large rivers like the Tuṅga-bhadra, the Pennār, the Kṛishṇā, and the Gōḍavārī, where the fields derived their water supply from the channels dug from these streams, the rest of the country depended on storage tanks and on wells sunk deep in the earth. Every village in the country had one or more tanks, according to the extent of its arable land and the condition of the crops raised thereon. The village tank was usually called *cheruvu*, though its Kannada equivalent '*kere*' was not altogether unknown. In the case, however, of tanks constructed by persons on their own behalf or in honour of an individual or a deity, it was customary to call them after the name of the builder or donor himself, or of the individual or the deity in whose honour they had been constructed, with the suffixes '*samudra*', '*cheruvu*' or '*kere*' attached to them.

Before the time of the Kākatiyas the tanks were small, the irrigation facilities were quite inadequate, and the area under cultivation was usually very limited in extent. The Kākatiyas were the first to realize that the red and sandy soil of Teliṅgaṇa, lying on a bed of granite and crystalline rock, was extremely fertile and eminently suitable for wet cultivation, though its porous character demanded a plentiful supply of water to make it fruitful and to yield sufficient grain to feed the people. They also saw that if the waters flowing down the many rivers and streams in the country could be conserved and utilized for the purposes of agriculture, wet crops could be raised on a large scale, and the economic wealth of the country greatly increased. They accordingly conceived the idea of constructing large tanks or dams in which water sufficient

¹ *Sakalandtisanmatamni*, I: 203.

² *AR*, 5 of 1939-40, *III*, 536; *NI*, A, 56, Kr. 23; *JOR*, xii, p. 245.

to irrigate vast areas of land could be stored up. The kind of tank constructed by them became very popular in later ages on account of its suitability for the country; and the rulers who succeeded them followed their example by repairing old tanks and constructing many new ones in places where they did not already exist.

It must, however, be noted here that the State undertook no direct responsibility for the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. No mention of a public-works department or of officials directly appointed with the duty of carrying out irrigation projects is to be found in any of the records of the period. The construction of a tank was regarded as an act of charity which would acquire great religious merit, and as a matter of fact the building of such tanks is included as one of the *sapta-saṁtānas* or seven acts of righteousness which would perpetuate the name of the doer and establish his fame permanently in the world.¹ The merit accruing from the construction of such tanks is clearly set forth in an inscription of the early 16th century which is of much interest in this connexion: 'the Gods, men, *pitṛis*, the *gandharvas*, *uragas*, *rākshasas*, and the permanent *bhūtas*, all depend on a tank. The person in whose tank men, beasts, and birds quench their thirst by drinking its water acquires the same merit as attaches to the performance of an *aśvamēdha*. The *pita* of the excavator of a tank rejoices, the *pitāmaha* dances (with delight), and even the *pitṛis* of his cognates join him.'² Influenced profoundly by this belief, the kings and the *sāmāntas*, the nobles and officials, religious leaders, merchants, and wealthy men in general all busied themselves in the construction of tanks, and thus the whole country was provided with an adequate irrigational system. Bēta II is the first Kākatiya monarch whose name is associated in our records with the construction of tanks. He appears to have undertaken the building of two tanks called *Seṭṭi-keṛe* and *Kēsari-samudra* and to have performed in that connexion the ceremony of *Varuṇa-pratishṭhā* or the installation of Varuṇa, the presiding deity of the waters, to ensure that his reservoirs might always be full.³ Rudra constructed an enormous and wonderful tank in the centre of the city of Chōḍōdaya which he had destroyed.⁴ Gaṇapati, if the *Pratāpacharitra* can be trusted, built several tanks in different parts of his kingdom, at Nellore the Telugu Chōḷa capital in the south, at Ellore in the Kṛishṇā-Gōdāvarī delta, at Gaṇapuram on the banks of the Gaṅgā (i.e., the Gōdāvarī), at Gaṇapuram in the south-west of Ēkaśilānagaram (Warangal), and at Vidasa to the west of the same city. Similarly, Pratāparudra is credited with the construction of a big tank somewhere in the region about Pākhal.⁵ This last statement, however, is not borne out by evidence of a trustworthy character. Even more than kings and royal personages did the nobles and officials in their service take great interest in promoting irrigation schemes. Two noble families of Teliṅgāṇa, viz. the

¹ *Corpus*, 36, Tel. Ins. Kāk, 6, 57.

² *Corpus*, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 3.

³ *LR*, 48, p. 72.

⁵ *JTA*, vii, pp. 140-2, 289.

Malyālas and the Rêcherlas, deserve special mention in this connexion, since many of the surviving tanks which secured the name of the 'tank-district' for the region in later ages were the fruits of their enterprise and activity. The Chāvuṇḍa-*samudram*, Bācha-*samudram* (Bas-*samudram*), Gaṇapa-*samudram*, Kuppa-*samudram*, Buddhuni-*kunṭa*, Kuppāmba-*kālva*, Pōlreḍḍi-*kālva*, Redḍi-*kālva*, Dādla-*kālva*, and the great tank at Pākhal were all excavated by the Malyālas,¹ whilst the Sabba-*samudram*, Nāma-*samudram*, Viśvanātha-*samudram*, Gaura-*samudram*, Eṇṇa-*samudram*, Lakumā-*samudram*, Kuḍikuḍiya-*chernvu*, Katyāre-*chernvu*, Nērēḍḍa-*chernvu*, Eṇṇamarāju-*kunṭa* were constructed by the Rêcherlas.² In the South, the Kāyastha princes, especially Ambadēva and his subordinates, similarly increased the prosperity of the country by providing it with fresh irrigation facilities. Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgaya-dēva, the famous *mahāpradhāna* of Ambadēva, caused two tanks called Amba-*samudram* to be excavated in the name of his master at Bali (Ōbali) and Ūṭukūru respectively. He also had a canal called Rāyasahasramalla-*kālva* dug from the bed of the river (Cheyyēṇṇu) at Lēmbāka, and another named Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra-*kālva* excavated at Tādḷapāka.³ And again Śāntaśiva Dēśika, the *nīyaguru*, caused a tank called Gaṇapa-*samudram* to be constructed at Gaṇapāpuram.⁴

Information regarding the way in which the tanks were built is indeed very scanty; different methods were doubtless employed varying with the terrain and locality.

The most important piece of work in the construction of a tank was always the erection of an embankment strong enough to withstand the pressure of the water impounded in it. This was a comparatively easy task and naturally involved less trouble and expense in the hilly tracts than in level country. Whereas in mountainous country a group of hills could be easily joined together, as for instance at Buddhapuri, by means of a *bund* made of stones piled on one another,⁵ it was necessary in the level plain to throw up earth banks all round the tank bed. In some places rows of trees called *kaṭṭava* were planted on or by the side of the tank-bund, evidently with a view to adding to its strength.⁶ Unfortunately no details of the means adopted by the tank builders in the accomplishment of their task are described in any records of which we have knowledge. There is reason to believe that, in some cases at least, they directly employed labourers and paid them wages in cash. In an inscription dated Śaka 1215 (A.D. 1293) at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district, it is stated that the construction of a tank called Kumāra-*samudram* involved an expenditure of 241 *māḍas* whilst two other tanks, both named Tripurā-*samudram*, cost 7-7 *māḍas* and 156 *māḍas* respectively.⁸ The items of expenditure mentioned in this record were obviously incurred for the payment of wages to the labourers employed in the work of constructing the

¹ *Corpus*, 8, 50, 52.

² *SII*, x, 448.

³ *Ibid.* 43.

⁴ *Ibid.* x, 400.

⁵ Second figure effaced.

⁶ *Ibid.* 17, 28, 31, 38, 41, 42, 43.

⁷ *Corpus*, 32.

⁸ *SII*, x, 475.

said tanks. But doubtless the practice of *daśabandha*, so popular with the tank-builders of the age of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, cannot have been altogether unknown in the earlier period. According to this method the construction of the tanks was entrusted to persons who had to execute the work and to maintain the tank in good repair after its completion at their own expense. As a set-off they were granted tax-free one tenth of the area of the land irrigated by the tanks constructed by them, as a remuneration for their work. There is, however, no direct evidence to show that this practice was prevalent in the Kākatīya times.

Rain was no doubt the sole source from which most of the tanks derived their water supply. Water collected during the monsoon in the catchment area flowed into the tanks through streamlets called *vāṅus*. Tanks situated in the vicinity of the rivers were fed from them by means of canals excavated for the purpose. The Mūsēṭi-*kālva*, the Immaṅgaḍi-*kālva* from the Pērakamma, the Kṛṣṇavēṇi-*kālva* dug by the Reddi of Penumbāka, the Antargaṅga-*kālva* from the Cheyyēru excavated by Ghōḍeyarāya Gaṅgayadēva at Lēmbāka, &c., referred to in the inscriptions of the period, probably conveyed the waters of the said rivers to the tanks of the neighbouring villages.¹ The mention of *āna-kālva* and *kaṭṭuṅgommu-kālva*,² signifying temporary embankments of earth and stones, called *ānas* and *kaṭṭuṅgommu*, shows that the rivers and streams were dammed and canals were dug from them to lead the water into tanks or directly to the fields under cultivation. Subsoil water, from springs and *ūṣa-kālvas* or canals dug deep into the earth, was also utilized to fill the tanks in certain areas. The mention in an inscription from Teliṅgāṇa of an *ūṣa-taṭāka* and of the plentiful rice crops in the fields fed by a canal from it proves that tanks of this description were also found in the interior.³ Tanks were provided with sluices, and canals were dug from them to carry water to the fields; the mention of canals such as Kūchinēni-*kālva*, Lomṭali-*kālva*, Ravi-*kālva*, Uttamagaṇḍa-*kālva*, Bommakaṇṭi-*kālva*, Prōlreḍḍi-*kālva*, Reḍḍi-*kālva*, Dādla-*kālva*, Meḍavirupurī-*gālva*, Maddi-maḍḍi-*kālva*, Rāyasahasramalla-*kālva*, and Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra-*kālva*,⁴ all of which are found in the records, may properly be noted here since they provide striking evidence of the efforts made by the people of that age to promote agriculture and to increase the produce of the soil.

Land Reclamation

Besides providing irrigation facilities for the improvement of agriculture, the Kākatīya monarchs, especially Pratāparudra, attempted to increase the extent of cultivable land by cutting down forests and bringing large tracts of fresh territory under the plough. Local tradition preserved in the *kaifiyats*

¹ *Corpus*, 29; *SII*, x, 395, 448.

² *Ibid.* 2.

³ *Ibid.* 18; *SII*, x, 395.

⁴ *Ibid.* 18, 31, 35, 42, 52; *SII*, x, 395, 448.

of several villages in what is at present known as the Rāyalasīma refer to the deforestation of much of this country by command of Pratāparudra and to the foundation of new villages on land they reclaimed from woodland and wild jungle. When Pratāparudra reached Kochcherlakōṭa in the north of the Nellore district during the course of his campaign against the Kāyastha chief Ambadēva, he ordered Irugappa Kēti Nāyaka, one of the officers in his service, to cut down the forests which then covered the neighbouring country and to build there the village of Duppipāḍu, modern Dūpāḍu, which in the course of time became the headquarters of a district of that name; an officer of the king's suite called Śrīnātharāju of Anumakonda was placed in charge of this township. The country to the west of the Śrīśaila mountain corresponding to a large part of the existing Nandikotkur *tāluk* of the Kurnool district of to-day was also at that time covered by dense woods which were cleared at the instance of the king, and several new villages were founded in the open spaces thus created; these in like manner were placed in charge of a kshatriya chief, Siri Siṅgalarāja, who had migrated with his wife Siri Nāguladēvi from Kalyāṇi in the north. Viḍemu Kommaya, to whom Pratāparudra had granted the territory in the neighbourhood of Kurnool as *nāyanikara*, felled the trees and established Nāgalūṭi near Dāmēgaṭla and several other villages in that region on land thus made available. Similar accounts are related in the *kaifiyats* regarding the foundation of a large number of villages in the Cuddapah and the Kurnool districts; these all bear testimony to the real and intense interest taken by Pratāparudra in increasing the economic resources of his kingdom.

But the establishment of new villages in the forest clearings proved to be a hard task fraught with many difficulties. It was not always easy to find suitable settlers who would consent to be transplanted to form the new communities. The government did not itself undertake this work; it was left to the efforts of enterprising farmers chartered by the State who would visit villages in their neighbourhood and gather together bands of men eager to break loose from the entanglements of the joint family, and to set themselves up in independent homesteads. The government also encouraged such movements by granting special privileges to the emigrants. They were allowed to cultivate the land at first for a term of three years free from the payment of any rent or fiscal charges; from the fourth year onwards taxes were levied at low rates which were gradually raised year by year until they came up to the level of those obtaining in the older established villages of the vicinity.

After recruiting families willing to move, the selection of the village site was the next important step: a suitable place provided with a good supply of water was chosen; the presiding deity was then installed in a temple, and a festival called *urumu* was held in his or her honour. Then the houses for the new settlers were erected; the *āyakaṭ* (the extent and the details of the

fields, &c.) of the village was determined, and the *āyagārs*, that is, the twelve village officers, were appointed. After this the land was parcelled out among the settlers according to the *viśabaḍi*, and the cultivable fields were plotted. With the construction of a tank to store water for irrigating the fields, the formation of the village was finally completed.

Taxation

Very little is known about the incidence of taxation during the Kākatiya period, though the names of many taxes are mentioned in the inscriptions of that period. The main source of government revenue was the taxation of agriculture, the chief and most important occupation of the people. Next to it in value came charges levied on trade and industry and last but not least were the assessments of forests and pasture lands on their yield of timber and the value of grazing rights. Taxes were collected by regular officials (both from the sources of income mentioned above and from a number of others). Some of these taxes were conventional and customary and had been in existence from a long time before the appearance of the Kākatiya dynasty. *Darīṣanamū*, *appanamū*, and *upakṛiti* were such traditional and accepted charges,¹ of which the first had to be paid to the king when visiting him on important occasions such as festivals and State ceremonials. This custom of offering presents to the king in kind or in cash at the time of *darśan* (seeing him) and of paying him *kānikas* in money on State occasions remained in vogue till very recent times, in the Native States. *Upakṛiti* was another offering consecrated by long usage, paid not only to the king but also to the officials of the State. Gifts thus offered in acknowledgement of some benevolent action on the part of the ruler were known as *upakṛiti*. They may be regarded as a kind of customary tax levied by the government on villagers or townsmen in return for some kind of service, permanent or temporary, performed for their benefit.

The government, as has been stated already, derived the bulk of its revenue from the land tax. More land was brought under cultivation in this than in any previous periods, as is proved by the *Local Records*. These state that much of the forest in the Śrīśailam and other regions was cut down by the Kākatiya monarchs Gaṇapatidēva, Rudramadēvi, and more particularly Pratāparudradēva, who thus vastly extended habitable and cultivable areas. Since the Kākatiya kings further encouraged agriculture by improving irrigational facilities, especially by the construction of large tanks called in regional language *samudrams*, and the extent of arable land thus rapidly increased, the income derived from the soil must have been augmented in due proportion. A study of the inscriptions of the Kākatiya period shows that land was divided, as at present, into dry (*veli-volamū* or *veli-chēnu* or *veli-bhūmi*), wet (*nīru-nēla*), and garden areas (*tōmṭa-bhūmi*) for purposes of assessment,

¹ *SII*, x, 427, 499, 509.

in accordance with the nature and fertility of the soil. *Tōmṣa-bhūmi* was also called *tōmṣa-polamu*. After this preliminary classification the land was surveyed by means of a bamboo pole (*gaḍa* or *daṇḍaka* or *kōla*) usually of thirty-two *jēnas* in length.¹ A study of the inscriptions of the period reveals the fact that there were regional variations in the standard length of the pole in different parts of the Kākatiya empire; for instance, poles of eight and twenty-four cubits in length for measuring house sites and fields respectively are referred to in an inscription at Penumūli in the Guntur district.² The pole used for measuring or surveying lands in many places during the Kākatiya period was of thirty-two cubits in length, known as *Kēsari-pāṭi-gaḍa*, a pole which was in use in the village of Kēsari-pāḍu. The assessment on wet land differed from that on dry land in accordance with the difference in standard measure. It was customary that the wet land should be measured in *marturu* or *mattar*, and its subdivisions, while dry land was reckoned in *khaṇḍava*, *khaṇḍuka*, or *puṭṭi* and its component parts; it is clear that the former comprised a comparatively smaller area than the latter. How the assessment was made is not known. The monarch had his own land called '*rācha-dodḍi*' or '*rāchapolamu*' probably in each village in the district.³ This land as well as its produce was the exclusive property of the king himself.

Cheluka or *Chelika bhūmi*, fallow land which had been newly brought under cultivation, was taxed progressively in proportion to the yield of the crop after a period of three or four years had passed, no tax being levied during the first two, three, or even four years. The tax was collected both in kind and in money. The expressions 'at the rate of one *chinnamu* per *marturu* of sowable ploughed field' and 'one *chinnamu* per *puṭṭi* of dry land' occur in inscriptions of this period.⁴ It cannot be said that these were the invariable rates at which money payments were assessed on wet and dry lands respectively but these records do furnish us with definite proof that taxes were assessed not only in kind but also in cash. The tax on dry land and garden land (*tōmṣa-bhūmi* or *tōmṣa-polamu*) was always paid in cash and was respectively known as *puṭṭi-pakiṇḍi* and *tōmṣa-sunkamu*.⁵

Taxes in kind were generally paid to the government in two instalments, one in the month of Kārtika (October–November) and the other in the month of Vaiśākha (April–May),⁶ these evidently being the two main crop-seasons. The king's officers went round the villages to collect his share of the grain from them. There were *kolakāṇḍru*, persons engaged in measuring the king's share of grain, and also *tirparulu*, umpires or judges, to see that no injustice was done to either party, the ryots of the village, or the government.⁷ The king's share of a householder's income in kind was called *puṭṭi-koluchu* and that of its income in cash, *puṭṭi-pakiṇḍi*.⁸ The govern-

¹ *Corpus*, 35.

² *SII*, x, 509.

³ *Ibid.* x, 510, *Corpus*, 26.

⁴ *dukkhivadda vittupattunaku marturu chinnamu lekhaṇa*, *Corpus*, 26.

⁵ *SII*, x, 509, 530.

⁶ *Ibid.* x, 468.

⁷ *Ibid.* x, 480.

⁸ *Ibid.* x, 509.

ment also collected a nominal rent even on lands which had been granted to gods and brāhmanas. That which was collected from wet land was called *para* and that from dry land, *paṅgamu*. *Paṅgamu*, according to the Telugu dictionaries, means one-fourth part of the rent and *para* meant probably one-eighth part. Even this minimum rent was remitted in certain cases and the land was listed as entirely tax-free. The general term for land tax was *ari*, and those ryots who were subject to it were called *arigāpulu*.

Suṅkamu is a term of broad import. It is used in inscriptions to denote taxes on garden lands, duties on exports and imports, customs duties collected on articles of merchandise brought to and taken from the *pēṭas* or market-towns or places, and excise duties. These tolls, either customs, duties, or others, collected on articles of trade, including salt, were farmed out to merchant-guilds or associations comprising members of the trading community like the Virabalanja-*samaya* or the Ayyāvaḷi guild of merchants, on payment of a fixed sum to the government. It is not known whether the right of collecting taxes was sold by auction, nor have we any information as to the exact length of the period during which the bidders were empowered to collect. These tax-farmers had their own branches in different localities, and their own officials, office establishments, and accountants to keep records of their transactions, receipts, and remissions in the course of the collection of tolls and duties. The tax-collectors were called *suṅkarulu* and their accountants *suṅka-karaṇālu*. Probably with the common consent of the members of the local branch, the money collected as duty on certain articles of trade in the locality was sometimes bestowed as a gift for charitable or religious purposes such as the setting up of lights before gods in temples, &c. The duty collected on sales effected in the *pēṭa*, market-town or market-place, on articles of trade, was called *pēṭa-suṅkamu* or *magama*.¹ These tax-collectors' guilds were held responsible only for the amount to be paid to the government, being allowed full freedom to manage their own affairs without any interference by the government or its officials. The extent of autonomy allowed to these trade guilds in managing their own affairs, and the limits to which the policy of non-intervention was followed by the government during the Kākatiya period, are revealed to us by two very interesting copper-plate records of the period dated in Śaka 1244, corresponding to A.D. 1322, and in Śaka 1225, corresponding to A.D. 1304, respectively. The inscription of A.D. 1322 mentions the Kākatiya monarch Pratāparudra of Warangal and records the grant of a privilege to trade in certain articles without paying duty, to a certain Attana, son of Lōkiśeṭṭi, by the merchants of the Eighteen *Samayās* of all countries residing in the Nandyāla *sihala*, as a reward for having killed Annamarāja and Siṅgarāja, the *Suṅka-karaṇas* of Cherunūru in the Peḍakaṇṭidēsa.² The other grant dated in Śaka 1225 is similar in its general terms to the above; but it does

¹ *III*, x, 429.

² *AR*, Cp. 11 of 1918-19.

not mention King Pratāparudra. This document too records the grant of the same kind of privilege by the same body of merchants to a certain Puliyamasetti for having killed Kārapākala Kāṭināyaka who had shown himself a traitor to the *ṣamayās*.¹ These two records—if they are genuine as is generally supposed, and there is nothing to disprove this supposition—throw considerable light on these trade guilds. Even retail dealers were not exempted from paying these duties. It was left to the merchants of the Eighteen *Ṣamayās* of all countries, who were the toll-farmers, to exempt any dealer from paying the stipulated duty or to grant such exemption to him as a privilege for some important service which he might have done for the guild organization.

The non-intervention policy of the government even when murders were committed, though these had been perpetrated flagrantly in the interest of the organization, is quite incomprehensible. The two records mentioned above show how much power these guilds wielded and how powerful they were during the last days of the Kākatīya empire. This complaisant policy on the part of the rulers was probably due to the help which these merchant guilds had given to the Kākatīya monarch during the Muslim invasions. Members of these guilds probably joined the army in times of need to form a distinctive component part—*śrēṇi-bala*—guild-force, one of the six divisions of the royal army which performed meritorious services for the king and were accordingly rewarded with these powers and privileges. The *praśasti*, or formal preamble, of the Virabalaṅja guild in their inscriptions always contains a long list of titles indicative of their valour and achievements, some of which, like those of the *Ballāla-rāya-mardana*, are historical. Whatever may be the case as to the origin of these immunities it is a fact that these merchant-guilds wielded unlimited powers and enjoyed full autonomy in the internal management of their own affairs.

Suṅkams, that is tolls or duties with varying designations such as *ammu-baḍi-suṅkamu*, *ammu-kaḍa-suṅkamu*, *peruka-eḍla-suṅkamu*, *gānuvula* (oil-mills)-*mudra-suṅkamu*, *gānuvuku-ari-suṅkamu*, and *uppu-perike-suṅkamu*, &c., find mention in the records of the Kākatīya period. These were all duties collected by toll-farmers and merchant-guilds in market-places, in places of pilgrimage, and in the precincts of shrines and temples of acknowledged repute. *Ammubāḍi-suṅkamu* and *ammu-kaḍa-suṅkamu* appear to be equivalent terms for the same impost. If it is argued that they were in fact separate fiscal dues, then the former may be the duty collected at some specified rate, now unknown, on sales effected, and the latter the duty levied on each shop or *kaḍu* as a going concern. The tax on pack oxen (*perike-eḍlu*) laden with sacks containing articles of trade, was called *perike-eḍla-suṅkamu*. *Gānuvula-mudra-suṅkamu* was probably the duty on oil mills paid as a registration fee, whilst *gānuvuku-ari-suṅkamu* may be the annual or semi-annual tax payable

¹ AR, Cp. 10 of 1918-19.

on an oil mill as such. Tolls were collected not only on the sale of all goods but also on the possession of many other commodities such as carriages (*baṇḍi*), slaves (*bānisa*), and horses (*gurrāmu*).¹

Salt was probably a monopoly of the State. Pedda Gañjāmu, Pinna Gañjāmu (China Gañjām), Kaḍakudura, Chorīpaṛēla Kanupaṛti, Devaramupalli, and Pāṇḍorti—all on the sea coast—were some of the places known from the records where salt was produced during the Kākatiya period.² These salt pans were either managed by government officials like the accountants who collected the duty on salt,³ or were farmed out to merchants as explained above.⁴ Since this is a commodity which has to be measured like grain, there were also salt officials called *kolakāṇḍru* and *tīrparulu*.⁵

Another source of income for the State was the *pullari* or tax on pasture lands (*pullu* = grass and *ari* = tax). The tax called *pullari* was collected on cattle grazing on the government pastures attached to each village or in the adjacent forest areas.⁶ Besides *pullari* some of the Kākatiya inscriptions mention another kind of *snikamu* known as *aḍḍavaḷḷa-snikamu*. What this tax was is not definitely known. According to some scholars it was a tax on a herd of sheep and amounted to a kind of property tax on cattle. It is not known whether this term denoted a tax on all classes of cattle or only on certain kinds. If it referred exclusively to sheep, then it would have to be interpreted as an impost relating to industry, since blankets are woven with the wool of the sheep, and not as a pure property tax levied on all classes of cattle. Just as it was on the loads of pack-oxen, in general duty was also collected on each pack-load of salt (*uppu perike snikamu*).

Beside those mentioned before, there are other taxes such as *gaḍḍuga-māḍa*, *gaḍḍuga-kānika*, *upakshiti*, *talāri-pannu* and *bantela* (*baṇṭula*)-*āyam*.⁷ *Gaḍḍuga-māḍa* and *gaḍḍuga-kānika* are evidently the same, since the word means an offering (*kānika*) compulsorily made to the king as an act of homage, and generally it was a *māḍa*. What *upakshiti* was, is not known. Could this be a mistake for *upakṛiti*? *Talāri-pannu* was the tribute collected from the public for the maintenance of a *talāri* or watchman. *Baṇṭula-āyam* was similarly a maintenance-rate and formed the allowance paid to foot-soldiers for their support.

Besides these taxes there were customary fees in money or in goods or grain known as *mēralu* or *vartanalu* to which the government servants and their menials were entitled, and which were collected periodically or seasonally.

¹ *SII*, x, 358.

² *uppu-snikamu-tiṣeḍi karaṇālu*, *SII*, x, 480.

³ *Ibid.* x, 427.

⁴ *paṇṭula pullari*, *SII*, x, 427 and 509.

⁵ *Ibid.* x, 427.

⁶ *Ibid.* x, 480.

⁷ *Ibid.* x, 499, 509, 521.

IV

LITERATURE

*Sanskrit*¹

SANSKRIT occupied, as in the previous ages, the first place in the educational system of the Āndhra country. The inscriptions of the Kākatīya monarchs and their subordinates bear ample testimony to the flourishing state of Sanskrit learning when they were composed. The educational attainments of the donees who figure in the numerous land grants of the period show that besides the *Vēdas* and the subsequent literature connected with them, the *Upanishads*, the *Śāstras*, the *Itihāsas*, the *Purāṇas* and the six *Darśanas*, as well as the various branches of classical Sanskrit literature, were all widely studied, and that in fact most educated persons in the country were very well versed in Sanskrit language and learning. The liberal patronage which the Kākatīya rulers, their nobles and their dependants, extended to Sanskrit scholars and men of letters, gave an impetus to this literary activity, and several works of outstanding merit which now serve as ornaments of Sanskrit literature were produced under the aegis of the court and the nobility dependent upon it. The time for assessing the extent and value of the Sanskrit literature which originated at this time has not yet come, since our knowledge of its history is still fragmentary. No systematic attempt has yet been made to collect and investigate the relevant material and to reconstruct a satisfactory history of the literature of the period on its basis, and until that shall have been done our knowledge can only be tentative and imperfect.

Several eminent Sanskrit writers and poets besides those whose works have come down to posterity are known to have flourished during the age of the Kākatīya rulers. Some of them figure as the authors of inscriptions which must be taken into consideration, on account of their literary excellence and manner of composition, as being *kāvyas* in miniature. Of these writers Achintēndra, son of Rāmēśvara Dīkshita, and the pupil of the *advaita-saṃnyāsīn* Advayāmṛita, deserves mention first. He was a contemporary of Kākatī Rudradēva and was commissioned by that king to compose the *prasaṣti* embodied in the Hanumakoṇḍa inscription dated A.D. 1163.² Nandi, son of Rēchi and grandson of Nandimitra of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, is mentioned as the author of the Gaṇapavaram inscription dated A.D. 1214;³ another poet

¹ This section is based partly on the account of Sanskrit literature in the Kākatīya period given by Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Madras, in his learned introduction to Jāya-senāpat's *Nṛitataranāvalī*. We are greatly obliged to him for placing it at our disposal though it is still unpublished.

² *Corpus*, 3.

³ *Ibid.* 22.

who is known only by his title, *Kavi-Chakravartin*, is said to have composed the undated Pākhāli inscription of Gaṇapati-dēva which has been assigned to about A.D. 1245.¹ Among the donees of the Kōtagiri Plates of Rudramādēvi dated Ś. 1195 (A.D. 1273), the names of three poets, Drāviḍa Uñjipira-kavi, Arṇi-kavi, and Sūri-kavi, are enumerated, although nothing is known about their achievements.² Anantasūri, the daughter's son of a certain Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa, is said to have composed the Pānugal inscription of Immaḍi Mallikārjuna Nāyaka, a subordinate of Kumāra Rudradēva, in A.D. 1290.³ The most famous of the *prasaṅgi* writers of the time was, however, Īśvarabhaṭṭāpādhyayā or Īśvarasūri, the author of the Bōthpūr inscriptions of the Malyāla clan. Īśvara was the son of Mayūrārya of the Taraṇikaṇṭhi family, who appears to have been himself a notable scholar. He mastered the Paṇiniyan Grammar and also the Yajur-Vēda together with its *pada-krama*, and was an adept in the *chitra-kāvya*. The Bōthpūr inscriptions in which are inserted verses composed without gutturals (*nish-kaṇṭhya*), or without palatals (*nish-tālavya*), or without cerebrals (*nir-mūrdhanya*), or dentals (*nir-dantya*), or labials (*nir-ōshṭhya*), as well as *bhramakas* and *bandhas*, may be taken as examples of his skill in poetic composition.⁴

The part played by these 'epigraphical poets', as they are called, in the growth of the Sanskrit literature during this period is not known; their *prasaṅgi-kāvyas*, however, give us an insight into some of the prevailing literary fashions of the day. And quite apart from these, the contribution of the Kākatiya poets to Sanskrit literature in general is not inconsiderable. Important works in several branches of learning were produced. Agastya, who has been identified by some with Vidyānātha, wrote no less than seventy-four works, but only three of them have come down to us. Of these the most important is a '*mahā-kāvya*' called the *Bālabhārata* which is in fact a shortened version of the *Mahābhārata*. The poem appears to have been very popular and widely studied in the south during the following centuries. Sāluva Timma, the *Śiṣya-Pradhāna* of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1509-30), wrote a commentary on it called the *Manōhara*. Agastya also produced a *khaṇḍa-kāvya* named the *Nalakīrtikāumudī* in four cantos. Agastya had a distinguished pupil in the famous poetess Gaṅgādēvī, the wife of Kumāra Kampana of Vijayanagara and the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* or the *Kamparāya-charitra*. Another well-known *kāvya* writer of the time was the renowned scholar and poet Śākalya Malla or Śākalya Mallu-bhaṭṭa, who is said to have been an ornament of the court of Pratāparudra. He composed two works, the *Udāttarāghava-kāvya* and the *Nirōshṭhya-Rāmāyaṇa*, of which the former appears to have attained great popularity, as evidenced by the two commentaries which were written upon it in succeeding centuries. Appayārya, a Jaina poet at the court of Pratāparudra, composed a *kāvya* called the *Jinēn-*

¹ H45, No. 4.² Ibid., No. 6.³ *Corpus*, 35.⁴ Ibid., 31 and 32.

drakalyānābhyaudaya or *Arhatpratishṭha*, which he completed on Sunday, 20 January, A.D. 1320, at the Kākatīya capital Warangal.

Next in importance to the *kāvya* is the *nāṭaka*. Though plays in all ten varieties of the Sanskrit drama were composed by the dramatists of the age, none of first-rate importance comparable to plays of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, and Bhavabhūti appear to have been produced. Judging, however, from the few which have come down to posterity, they deserve recognition on account both of their literary merit and of their artistic excellence. The first dramatist of the period who demands notice is Gaṅgādhara. He is known only through a reference in Gaṅgādēvī's *Madhurāvijayam*, where it is stated that he dramatized the story of the *Mahābhārata*. The play itself is not extant, although it seems to have attracted much attention in his own time, and it is therefore not possible to estimate its value or the poetic talents of its author. Gaṅgādhara married a sister of the poet Agastya by whom he had two sons Viśvanātha and Narasimha, who both made their mark in the field of Sanskrit drama. The former wrote the *Saṅgandhikāharṇa*, which was obviously based on the well-known episode in the *Aranya-parvam* of the *Mahābhārata* dealing with the journey of Bhīmasēna to the land of the Yakshas to fetch the *Saṅgandhika* flower for Draupadī. The latter was a more prolific writer than his elder brother. He is said to have produced plays in each of the ten varieties of the Sanskrit drama, but all of these with the exception of his *Kādambarī-kalyāṇa-nāṭaka* seem unfortunately to have perished. Narasimha also wrote an historical work called the *Kākatīyacharita*. It is not known whether this was composed in prose or in verse. Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntaka is said to have been the author of a *vidhi-nāṭaka*, one of the ten accepted kinds of Sanskrit drama, called the *Prēmābhirāmam*. The original play itself is lost, but it is known through a fourteenth-century Telugu translation entitled *Kṛiḍābhirāmam* by Vallabharāya, the governor of the fort of Vinukonda under Harihara II (A.D. 1378-1404) of Vijayanagara. Whatever may have been its merits as a *vidhi-nāṭaka*, it is undoubtedly of importance, since it describes the religious and social life of the Kākatīya capital Warangal during Pratāparudra's reign.

The fourteenth century of the Christian era may be regarded as the golden age of the *alaṅkāra-sāstra* in the Deccan, when very great progress was made in the study and investigation of the subject and several important treatises noted for their originality and profundity of thought were produced. Of these the *Pratāparudra-yaśōbhūṣaṇam* of Vidyānātha, which is still used as the standard work on the subject in all the Sanskrit schools where *alaṅkāra-sāstra* is studied, is easily the best. Vidyānātha was the greatest man of letters of his day; he was the poet laureate of Pratāparudra, to whom he dedicated his work; other writers like Sāyaṇa, Viśvēśvara, and Siṅga-bhūpāla followed in his wake; but since they wrote after the extinction of the Kākatīya monarchy in A.D. 1323, consideration of their works is not called for here.

Music and the fine arts flourished under the patronage of the Kākatiyas. How popular music and dancing were in Kākatiya times can be seen from the sculptural representations of musicians and dancers in some of the famous shrines of the age, especially the Rāmappa temple at Pālampēṭa in the Warangal district of the Āndhra Pradesh. Pālkuṭiki Sōma enumerates various instruments of music in his *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* as well as the *rāgas* which were in vogue among the musicians of the day. Jāyana, the *Gaja-sāhini* of Gaṇapatidēva, wrote the *Gītaratnāvalī*; but this work, as also the *Vādyaratnāvalī*, which he is said to have written on the subject of musical instruments, is no longer extant; however, his *Nṛitaratnāvalī*, a treatise on dancing, has fortunately survived the ravages of time. The *Nṛitaratnāvalī* is divided into descriptions of the two modes of dance, *mārga* and *dēśi*, each being treated separately in four chapters. It is one of the best works on *nṛitya*, following Abhinavagupta and Kīrtidhara for the *mārga* and Mataṅga for the *dēśi* system.¹ Though a work on a technical subject, the *Nṛitaratnāvalī* is not without literary merit. The author displays considerable poetical talent and remarkable command over both the Sanskrit language and its prosody.

Though verse was generally employed by the poets as well as by other men of letters, prose compositions were not unrepresented. Agastya wrote the *Kṛishnacharita* and his example was followed by his nephew (sister's son) Narasimha, who produced a *gadya-kāvya* called the *Malayavati*. The former is available, whereas the latter is known only from a reference in an inscription in a Kākatiya temple at Warangal. Sanskrit grammar was widely studied. It may be remembered that the epigraphical poet Iśvarabhaṭṭōpādhyāya claims expert knowledge of the Pāṇinian grammar. He would hardly have boasted of his proficiency in grammar had not grammatical studies been held in high esteem by the educated public of his day. The popularity of grammar is also attested by the appearance of several new works on the subject. Kolani Rudradēva, son of the *mudrāka* (seal-bearer) Ganna and a *pradhāni* of Pratāparudra, wrote a grammatical work in the form of a commentary on the *Ślōkavārttika*, called *Rājarudrīya*. The *Ślōkavārttika* is not itself an original work; it sets forth the metrical data of a *vārttika* character quoted by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*. Besides the *Rājarudrīya*, several exegetical works on other subjects made their appearance about this time. The Kākatiya period was an age of intense religious activity, an activity which naturally led to the production of numerous philosophical and theological works of importance. Though most of these were written in the vernacular languages, a number of them were composed in Sanskrit also. Guṇḍayabhaṭṭa, the *brāhmaṇ-ādhyāpaka* in the court of Pratāparudra, wrote a commentary on the Advaita classic *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa* of Śrī Harsha. Guṇḍaya was a learned scholar, well versed in the *Vēda*, *Śāstra* and *Smṛiti*; he appears to have inherited his love of Advaita from his father Rājamahēndra, who is said to have been a distinguished

¹ M. Ramakrishnakavi, *The Bharata-kōsa*, Intro., pp. xvii-xviii.

Vēdāntin. The *Māhēśvara-Sārōddhāra*, commonly known as the *Sōmanātha-bhāṣya*, and the *Rudra-bhāṣya* of Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha are, however, works of a different character. Of these the latter, which was apparently a gloss on the *Rudrādhyāya* of the Yajur-vēda, is not extant. The former is a treatise comprising twenty-five chapters in which the author attempts to establish the superiority of Śaivism to other creeds. He cites in support of his contention a large number of texts from the *Vēdas*, *smṛitis*, *purāṇas* and *āgamas*, as well as passages from Haradattāchārya's *Chaturvēda-sāra-saṃgraha*. Although the *Sōmanātha-bhāṣya* displays the vast erudition and extraordinary skill in debate of its author, it has failed to win general popularity and is in fact scarcely known outside the Vīra-Śaiva community.

Telugu

Telugu literature appears to have suffered an eclipse for nearly a century (A.D. 1060–1160) after Nannayabhaṭṭa; for no writer who left his impress on the annals of our literature is known to have flourished during this period. Literary activity, however, did not completely cease. The evidence of inscriptions, several of which were composed partly or wholly in Telugu verse, indicates that poetry was still cultivated, and that the rulers and magnates of the age still cherished learning and extended their patronage to men of letters. Such documents frequently allude to the feudatory princes and their ministers as patrons and protectors of poets; but they seldom mention the names of any individual writers or the literary compositions by means of which they rose to distinction and fame. Occasionally, however, the name of a Telugu poet does occur here and there as the author of an inscription. Bhīmaya Paṇḍa, who is mentioned in an epigraph at Chēbrōlu in the Guntur district dated Ś. 1067 (A.D. 1145), is said to have been a poet capable of producing verses both in the *mārga* and the *dēśi* styles as the ancients had done. He was probably the author who composed the *prasaṣti* embodied in the record.¹ Īśvara Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, son of Mayūrarāya, who was employed by the Mal-yālas to compose the family *prasaṣti* incorporated in their Bōthpūr inscription, was a famous poet. He is said to have been proficient in Pāṇinian grammar, and skilled in *śabda-vidyā* (philology) and the knowledge of *vichitra-kavītvā* (ornate poetry). Though his compositions are mostly in Sanskrit verse, they are interspersed with long passages in Telugu prose which show that he was as great an adept in the vernacular as he was in the classical language.² Inscriptions in Telugu verse, though mostly anonymous compositions, demand particular attention on account both of their literary merit and of their linguistic, grammatical, and prosodical peculiarities. Some of them, for instance, the Gūḍūr inscription of the time of Bēta II, the Karīmnaḡar inscription of Gaṃgādhara, the Upparapalle inscription of Kāṭa, the Koṇidena inscription of Ōpilisiddhī. and the Tālla-Prodduṭūr inscription

¹ *III*, vi, 103.

² *Corpus*, 50, 51, and 52.

of Jagatāpi Gaṅgayadēva,¹ display poetical qualities of a high order and may be regarded as excellent specimens of the epigraphical literature of the Kākatiya period.

Iṭihāsas. (i) *The Rāmāyaṇa.* The intellectual ferment caused by new religious movements like Vaiṣṇavism and Vīra-Śaivism gave a fresh impetus to Telugu literature, and works of considerable literary value began to make their appearance in a continuous stream from the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. onwards, if not even earlier. The two great national epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, naturally claimed the first attention of the Telugu writers. Several works on the *Rāmāyaṇa* were produced. These fall, according to the metres employed in their composition, into two classes; the *padya-* and the *dvīpada-kāvya*s. The *padya-kāvya*s, whether on the *Rāmāyaṇa* or any other subject, were not, with the single exception of Tikkana's *Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyaṇam*, written, as is suggested by their class-name, entirely in verse; they are *chāmpūs* or mixed compositions in which verses in various metres excluding, of course, the *dvīpada*, and *gadyas*, that is, ornate prose passages, are employed according to the whim of the author. Mantri Bhāskara, the grandfather of Tikkana, who must have flourished about the close of the twelfth century A.D., was probably the first writer to compose a poem in Telugu on the theme to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This belief is based on the statement of Tikkana in the introduction to his *Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyaṇam* that the learned public might look on his poem with an indulgent eye, if not on account of its intrinsic merit, yet in consideration of his kinship to Mantri Bhāskara, his own grandfather, who had been famous for the excellence of his poetry.² The fact that Tikkana chose the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, leaving out the first six *kāṇḍas*, which constitute the *Rāmāyaṇa* proper, as the theme of his *Nirvachan-Ōttara Rāmāyaṇam*, coupled with the statement referred to above, lends colour to the belief that Mantri Bhāskara had composed a poem on the *Rāmāyaṇa* consisting of six *kāṇḍas* and that Tikkana completed his grandfather's book by adding the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* to it as a supplement. This poem, if it was, as is averred by tradition, actually written by Mantri Bhāskara, is now no longer extant. It is not, however, improbable that parts of it are incorporated with the later *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇam* of the fourteenth century A.D. Of the surviving Telugu works on the *Rāmāyaṇam*, Tikkana's *Nirvachan Ōttara-Rāmāyaṇam* is no doubt the earliest. It must have been produced about A.D. 1260, since it was dedicated to King Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore, who ruled from A.D. 1248 to 1263, and alludes to certain historical events which took place subsequent to A.D. 1250. The poem, which is divided into ten *āśvāsas* or cantos, deals briefly with the subject-matter of the Sanskrit *Uttara-kāṇḍa* excepting the final episode dealing with the *niryāṇa* or the death of Rāma. The poem is still popular, and is eagerly read by the learned

¹ *Corpus*, 23 and 56; *HAS*, No. 3; *III*, vi, 628, and the *Bhārati*, vol. xv, part i, pp. 157-60.

² *Nir*, i, 12.

who hold it in high esteem. Though it exhibits all the characteristic features of Tikkana's poetic art, it is considered immature when compared with the poet's *Mahābhārata*. The style, no doubt, is terse and dignified, the diction simple and homely, the imagery graceful and charming, and the literary craftsmanship superb. Nevertheless, the ripeness of style, the grandeur of conception, and the sublimity of thought so characteristic of his *Mahābhārata* are little apparent in this poem. Next in point of time comes the well-known *Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam*, a composite work which contains the productions of no less than five authors, Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, son of Bhāskara, Kumāra Rudradēva, son of Mārāya, Bhāskara, Huḷakki Bhāskara, and Ayyalārya, a descendant of the celebrated Śākalya Mallubhaṭṭa. Contrary to the belief still generally held, these poets were not contemporaries; nor did they co-operate with one another in a joint literary enterprise. Of the five, Ayyalārya, the last mentioned, lived at Dēvarakōṇḍa in the court of the Velama prince Peda-Vēdagiri Nāyaḍu at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.; he completed the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇam* which had been left unfinished by Huḷakki Bhāskara at the instance of his patron as stated in the majority of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the work. Kumāra Rudradēva son of Mārāya was, no doubt, identical with Mārāya Sāhiṇi Rudradēva, that is, Rudradēva, the son of Mārāya Sāhiṇi or Sāhiṇi Mārā, mentioned as a subordinate of king Pratāparudra in an inscription dated Ś. 1233 Virōdhikṛit (A.D. 1311) at Nevalikallu in the Sattenapalle *tāluk* of the Guntur district.¹ The time at which the other three poets flourished is not so definitely known, but there is reason to believe that Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Bāla*-, *Kishkindha*- and *Sundara-kāṇḍas*, lived earlier than Kumāra Rudradēva and his father Sāhiṇi Mārā. It is generally believed that the *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇam* was dedicated by its authors to Sāhiṇi Mārā. The internal evidence indicates that this belief is not well founded. An examination of the dedicatory verses at the beginning and end of each of the three *kāṇḍas* composed by Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa shows that he dedicated them originally to the god Śiva, but that later someone attempted to re-dedicate them to Sāhiṇi Mārā by interpolating certain verses. Who the person was who thus attempted to re-dedicate them, is not difficult to discover. The *Ayōdhya-kāṇḍa* is ascribed both in the printed text and in the majority of the palm-leaf manuscripts to Kumāra Rudradēva; but several manuscripts attribute its authorship to Bhāskara, the author of the *Aranya-kāṇḍa*. We find in the colophon of the *Ayōdhya-kāṇḍa* in these manuscripts the *prafasti* and the name of Bhāskara; moreover the dedicatory verses at the end are similar to those in the *Aranya-kāṇḍa* with *vibhakty-antar* instead of the usual *sambuddhi* (vocative). In addition to this evidence, there occurs also at the end, as in the case of *Aranya-kāṇḍa*, a verse in the *śiṣa* metre describing briefly the contents of the *kāṇḍa* and the religious merit accruing to the persons who should read it. From this

¹ AR, 507 of 1934-5.

it is clear that the *Ayōdhya-kāṇḍa*, like the *Aranya-kāṇḍa*, was composed by Bhāskara, and subsequently under circumstances not at present known the dedicatory verses as well as the colophon of the former were altered by Kumāra Rudradēva so as to make it appear his own composition, and he then re-dedicated it to his father, Sāhiṇi Māra. The clumsy attempt to interpolate dedicatory verses addressing Sāhiṇi Māra in the other *kāṇḍas*, especially the *Kishkindha* and the *Sundara*, must be attributed to over-zealous scribes and redactors of later ages who were profoundly influenced by the apocryphal legend of Sāhiṇi Māra, according to which Bhāskara, being incensed with the king on account of the preference shown by that prince to Ranganātha, the author of the *Dvīpada-Rāmāyaṇam*, dedicated his poem in disgust to the king's groom Sāhiṇi Māra. It is obvious that the *Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam* as it has come down to us is a composite work to which several writers, who lived at different times, contributed. However, it may be regarded as the product of the Kākatīya age, since all the poets concerned, with the exception of Ayyalārya, flourished during that period.

The *Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam* is not a translation of the great Sanskrit epic of Vālmīki but is a free and independent rendering of the story of Rāma in the Telugu language. The authors of the work no doubt followed Vālmīki's narrative closely, but they retold it in their own fashion without lifting any passages directly from his poem. The style of the poem is of course not uniform, since it varies with the change of author from *kāṇḍa* to *kāṇḍa*, but it is dignified and majestic throughout, eminently in keeping with the epic grandeur of its theme. From a literary and artistic standpoint, the *Aranya-kāṇḍa* of Bhāskara is considered by competent critics to be the best. The style is severe and terse; the language is simple and direct, and is free from long Sanskrit compounds, and from excessive ornamentation; the flow of the verse is natural and spontaneous, and the narrative proceeds smoothly unclogged by superfluous descriptions. Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa's style is more Sanskritic and ornate. He is at his best in the *Kishkindha*- and the *Sundara-kāṇḍas*. Huḷakki Bhāskara's style is vigorous and dignified; the flow of his verse is spontaneous; his narrative is direct and the description of battle-scenes is spirited and well suited to the theme. Ayyalārya's poetry bears close resemblance to that of Huḷakki Bhāskara whose unfinished *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* he completed. He seems to have made a deliberate attempt to imitate the style of his predecessor, so as to produce the impression that the whole *kāṇḍa* was the composition of a single writer. In this he was eminently successful. Ayyalārya was indeed a great poet. The fact that he was able to compose more than half of the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* (1,556 out of 2,690 verses) in a manner quite indistinguishable from that of Huḷakki Bhāskara bears ample testimony to his lofty poetical genius. Though several *Padya-Rāmāyaṇas*, both adaptations as well as literal translations of Vālmīki's great poem, have been written during the succeeding centuries, yet none can approach in grandeur,

artistic perfection, and literary excellence the *Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam*, which justly retains to this day its position as one of the great classics of the Telugu language.

The Kākatiya age also saw the birth of another great Rāmāyaṇa classic in the *dvipada* metre called the *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam*. The *dvipada* or two-footed verse, consisting of two lines knit together by *yati* and *prāsa* so as to form a unit like the English couplet, appears to have been perfected during this age. It is not definitely known how and when the *dvipada* was at first evolved; but judging from the occurrence of analogous metres like the *taruṇjā* in the inscriptions of Guṇaga Vijayāditya (A.D. 848-92),¹ it is not improbable that it came into vogue about the same time, although no example of a *dvipada* composition anterior to the fourteenth century A.D. has come down to us. No trace of it is to be found in the literature or inscriptions. It is a *dēśi* or indigenous metre eminently suitable for singing and was largely employed by the propagandists of various religious sects to spread their respective doctrines among the masses, who were mostly illiterate. The authorship and the date of the composition of the poem have long been subjects of controversy. Tradition ascribes it to a poet by the name of Raṅganātha whose name it bears. In fact, there flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century a Vaishṇava poet called Ranganātha, who, being defeated in religious disputation by the famous Vīra Śaiva divine, Pālkuṇṇiki Sōmanātha, enrolled himself as the disciple of the latter and embraced the Vīra Śaiva faith. In the prologue and the colophons of the poem it is, however, stated that it is the composition of a certain Buddharāja who (in the prologue of his poem) traces his descent through Viṭthala, Buddha, and Rudra, his father and grandfather and an unnamed great grandfather respectively, to Kāṭa of the Gōṇa family. Though several chieftains of this family figure in the inscriptions of the Kākatiya monarchs as their feudatories and subordinates, very little is really known about Buddharāja and his ancestors. It is perhaps not unlikely that the Gōṇa Kāṭa, one of the ministers of Gaṇapatiḍēva who is mentioned in an epigraph at Kāñchī dated in the 5th regnal year (? A.D. 1255) of Alluṇṇa Tikka Mahārāja Gaṇḍagōpālādēva,² is identical with our Gōṇa Kāṭa; and that Gōṇa Buddhaya, who is said in an inscription dated Ś. 1198 Dhātṛi (A.D. 1277) at Bōthpūr in the Mahboobnagar District to have been the father of Malyāla Guṇḍa's wife Kuppāmbikā,³ was in fact one of the two Buddharājas of the *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam*. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the poem is a genuine product of the Kākatiya period, and the time of its composition may be assigned roughly to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. The *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam* is the greatest of the Telugu *dvipada-kāvyas* and though it follows fairly closely the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as narrated by Vālmiki, it includes some episodes which find no place in his great epic. Buddharāja is indeed a great poet. The uniform

¹ *Bhārati* v, 473-84

² *AR*, No. 608 of 1919

³ *Corpus*, 50.

excellence and perfection of the style bear ample testimony to his consummate artistic skill and his mastery over the poetic art. His *dvipadas* couched in mellifluous language glide along with ease and speed, and the narrative moves with majestic grandeur from episode to episode. In its gracefulness of expression, in the charm and the beauty of the imagery and in the aptness of illustration, there is hardly another *dvipada-kāvya* in Telugu which can bear comparison with Buddharāja's *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇam*. Closely associated with this work is the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of Kācha and Viṭṭhala, sons of Buddharāja, who composed this poem in order to complete the work of their father. But the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, judged from a literary standpoint, must be considered far inferior to the *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇam* to which it serves as a supplement. In addition to these, the *Viddikūchi-Rāmāyaṇam*, so called evidently after its author Viddi Kūchi, comprising six *kāṇḍas* now no longer extant, deserves mention, since it appears to have been a composition of the *Yakshagāna* type suited especially for singing and recitation.

(ii) *The Mahābhārata*. The Kākatiya age also saw the completion of the *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, begun and partly composed by Nannayabhaṭṭa, the court poet of the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja Narēndra in the eleventh century A.D. The work had remained incomplete from the time of its composition until it was taken up and finished by Tikkana Sōmayāji, the minister and the poet laureate of the Telugu Chōla king Manuma Siddhi II of Nellore, two centuries later, about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. Tikkana Sōmayāji, justly called the *Kavi-Brahma*, that is 'Brahma (or the creator) among the poets', is the greatest of the Telugu poets, and his *Mahābhārata*—fifteen out of the eighteen *parvas* from the *Virāṭa-parvam* to the *Svargārōhaṇa-parvam*—is universally regarded as the grandest poem in the language. Though generally believed to be a translation of Vyāsa's great Sanskrit epic, competent critics hold that notwithstanding its close connexion with Vyāsa's work, it is not a translation but an independent poem far superior in its beauty and artistic quality to the Sanskrit work. Although Tikkana, like his great predecessor Nannayabhaṭṭa, followed generally the theme of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, he did not adhere to its text. He never hesitated to omit, abridge, or even frequently to expand the Sanskrit original and develop in his own way episodes which aroused his interest, displaying originality and charm so that his work reads like an independent poem recounting the story of the *Mahābhārata* rather than a translation. The *Āndhra Mahābhārata* is indeed a great masterpiece of Telugu literature. Tikkana's language is much simpler than that of Nannayabhaṭṭa. Though a Sanskrit scholar of considerable erudition, he manifests a distinct partiality for simple and homely Telugu words, avoiding the excessive use of long Sanskritic compounds and phrases otherwise favoured so much by Telugu writers in all ages. His style is remarkable for its flexibility, varying according to the theme from the sublime majesty of the *Virāṭa*- and the *Udyōga-parvas* to the *sūtra*-like terseness of the

Śānti- and the *Anulāsānīka*. Tikkana is very economical in his use of the language. Simple *dēśya* terms are employed with great effect in appropriate contexts and hardly a single superfluous syllable can be detected in the whole extent of this mighty epic. His verse resembles in its compactness and strength the cyclopean masonry in which well-chiselled blocks of granite are neatly placed one above the other without any adhesive material in between to hold them together. Though he depicts the whole gamut of the *rasas* with perfect competence, he is at his best in dealing with *vīra*, *śringāra*, and *duḥkha*. His descriptions of battles and battle-scenes are unrivalled in the whole range of Telugu literature for their liveliness and grandeur. He makes use of the various figures of speech with conspicuous ability. His similes are specially noteworthy; they resemble those of Homer and Milton and recall to mind similar descriptions in the *Iliad* and in the *Paradise Lost*. The most important features of Tikkana's *Mahābhārata* are the limpid flexibility of its narrative, the vigorous energy of its verse, and the vivid portrayal of the characters. The magic of his incomparable style brings even the most shadowy characters of the Sanskrit epic before us in fresh life and activity. The genius of Tikkana has imparted new beauty and grandeur to Vyāsa's poem, and transformed it into an Āndhra national epic which occupies a unique place in every Āndhra heart.

The Purāṇas. Like the two great national epics (*itihāsa*) the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* also attracted the attention of the poets of the Kākatiya age. Mārana, a disciple of Tikkana Sōmayājī, produced the *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇam* based on the Sanskrit *purāṇa* of that name which he dedicated to Nagaya Ganna, the *talāri* of Warangal during the reign of Pratāparudra. Mārana's *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇam* is not a translation of the Sanskrit original but, like the other *āndhrīkaraṇas* of the age, is a résumé of the select parts in which the descriptive and the narrative elements predominate over the religious and the didactic. Mārana's style is simple, free from long Sanskrit compounds; like his great master, Tikkana, he prefers to employ short *dēśi* words which he welds together with consummate skill into pithy sentences full of grace and charm. Avoiding excessive ornamentation, he narrates incidents of the *purāṇa* with the artless simplicity of a born story-teller.

The Kāvya. The Telugu *Kāvya* perhaps made its appearance about the beginning of this period. The *Kumārāsambhavam* of Nanne Chōḍadēva, the Telugu Chōḷa ruler of the Pākanāḍu, Twenty-one Thousand country, is, of course, the earliest of the Telugu *kāvya*s. We have no definite information as to when Nanne Chōḍadēva actually lived and composed his poem. The information which he gives us about himself and his family in the prologue does not lend itself to any definite conclusions, and has given rise, as a matter of fact, to considerable speculation and controversy. Some believe that Nanne Chōḍadēva flourished in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The archaic language and unusual grammatical forms, as well as the obvious influence on the work

of the earlier compositions of Kannaḍa Jaina literature, would seem to strongly argue in favour of an early date. Nevertheless, most Telugu scholars and literary critics consider that Nanne Chōḍadēva was a comparatively late writer and that he could not have lived earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. Nanne Chōḍa mentions, in the eulogy of the ancient Sanskrit poets found in the prologue of his *kāvya*, Kālidāsa himself and another poet of the name of Udbhaṭa who are both said to have composed poems called *Kumārasaṃbhavam*; but his poem is not based on the works of either of these, although translations of a few *śloka*s from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhavam* are found scattered here and there. His is an independent poem in the *kāvya* style into which he has woven episodes connected with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvaṭī and the birth and the achievements of the War-God drawn from the *Saiva-purāṇas* and the *Kumārasaṃbhavams* of Kālidāsa and Udbhaṭa. Nanne Chōḍa relates in his *Kumārasaṃbhavam* the stories of the birth of Gaṇēśa, Dakṣha's sacrifice, the self-immolation of Satī, her rebirth as Pārvaṭī, the daughter of Himavān and Mēnakā, the marriage of Pārvaṭī with the God Śiva, the birth of Kumāra and the destruction of the demon Tāraka. Though his language is simple, it teems with archaic terms and expressions which are unintelligible to the modern reader. Although he declares in the introduction that the language used by him in his poem is *Jānu-Tenugu*, a term the precise denotation of which is not quite clear, it does not differ in any manner from the literary dialect that had come into vogue after the days of Guṇaga Vijayāditya (A.D. 848-92) and which was employed by Nannayabhaṭṭa and all other writers in subsequent times. The term *jānu* prefixed to the word Telugu by Nanne Chōḍa does not perhaps carry with it any special significance regarding versification or prosody but means only beautiful or graceful Telugu. His style is dignified and flexible; it varies according to the situation, and adapts itself admirably to the nature of the subject dealt with; the diction is extraordinarily rich and varied; and the imagery and the descriptions are original and charming. His touch is delicate, and his handling of the emotions (*rasas*) is masterly and exquisite. His range is wide, and none of the eighteen *varṇanas* and thirty-two *alaṃkāras* known in his day is left untouched. Nanne Chōḍa is indeed a great poet, and his *kāvya* deserves to be placed in the forefront of the species of composition to which it belongs.

Tikkana Sōmayāji also wrote a *kāvya* called the *Vijayaśēnam*, and Chimmappūḍi Amarēśvara, another famous poet of the period, produced the *Vikramasēnam*, but neither of these is extant; only two verses from the former and a large fragment, consisting of about sixty verses, from the latter are preserved in the anthologies. Amarēśvara's poem describes the story of a prince of Ujjain called Vikramasēna. Though nothing more can be said of the incidents of the poem, and the manner in which he developed them, he yet left a great reputation behind him, though the work on which this was founded seems to have disappeared long ago. Judging from the quality of the few

verses which have survived, the opinion of Vinukonda Vallabharāya, who flourished in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., that Amarēśvara was as great a poet as Nannayabhaṭṭa, Tikkana and Hulaḱki Bhāskara, does not seem to be unjustified. His style is vigorous, and the language felicitous.

Story. The poet Errā Preggaḍa, writing about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., refers to the fondness of the Telugu people for the *gāthas* or tales. Though this remark presupposes the existence of a *gātha* literature before his time, it seems to have perished almost completely. The Telugu *gātha*, like the other forms of Telugu literature, appears to have begun with translations and adaptations of the Sanskrit classics. The *gātha* writers, like their compeers in other fields of literature, adopted the *Champū* as their vehicle of expression, the *nir-vachana* compositions being unpopular and Telugu literary prose as such yet unborn. The earliest surviving collection of such stories is Kētana's *Daśakumāracharitra*, a translation into Telugu of Daṇḍin's famous work of the same name. Kētana is generally praised for his skill in narration and the naturalness and sobriety of his descriptions; but much of this praise should be really credited to Daṇḍin whom Kētana follows closely, though he deviates from the Sanskrit original in details here and there. The real importance of Kētana's poem lies in the impetus which it gave to story-writing in Telugu. Another poet who may be classed among the early story writers is Mañchana, the author of the *Kēyirabāhucharitra*, a translation or rather an adaptation into Telugu of Rājaśekhara's drama the *Vid-dhasālabhañjika*; but Mañchana wove into the texture of his poem many tales drawn from the *Pañchatantra* and other Sanskrit works of the class. Mañchana's style is simple and charming; his verse is nimble and graceful; and the consummate skill with which he recounts his tales has created for him a unique place among Telugu story-tellers.

Grammar and Prosody received due attention. The *Āndhrabhāṣā-bhāṣaṇam* of Kētana is the first treatise on grammar in Telugu. Tradition, no doubt, attributes the authorship of the *Āndhrāśabdachintāmaṇi* to Nannayabhaṭṭa, but this is questioned by modern scholars. The *Āndhrāśabdachintāmaṇi*, unlike Kētana's work, is written in Sanskrit. Malliya Rēchana's *Kavijanāśrayam* is perhaps the earliest treatise on Telugu prosody; a work of the same name is attributed to Vēmulavāḍa Bhīmakavi, but this is not extant. The *Kavi-vagbandhanam*, a short work on prosody attributed to Tikkana Sōmayāji, also deserves notice.

Dharma-Sāstra and the Rājaniṭi. Kētana translated the *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* of the *Vijñānēśvariya*, a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* by Vijñānēśvara, a great jurist who flourished at the court of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇi. He probably undertook this work in order to facilitate the administration of justice by the *dharmāsanaṣ* or popular courts of justice. The study and exposition of *rājaniṭi*, or politics, appears to have aroused greater interest among the people than did the *dharma-sāstras*. Not

only were Sanskrit works on the subject, such as the *Pañchatantra* and the *Kāmandaka*, translated into Telugu, but several original treatises were also produced in both the languages. Some of these are of great importance because they throw interesting light on aspects of Hindu polity which are either completely ignored or only slightly touched on in the well-known Sanskrit textbooks on the subject. Of these the *Nītisāra* of Pratāparudra written in Sanskrit, the *Nītisāstra-muktāvaṣi* and the *Sumati Śatakam* of Baddena, and the *Puruṣhārīhasāraṁ* of Śivadēvayya in Telugu verse, demand particular attention, as they seem to have exercised profound influence on the Hindu system of government not only during the time of the Kākatiyas but also in succeeding ages. Most of these works have perished; only the *Nītisāstra-muktāvaṣi* and perhaps also the *Sumati-Śatakam* of Baddena have come down to us. Fortunately extracts from these works as well as many others such as the *Mudrāmāyā* and the *Nītibhūṣaṇam*, of unknown age and authorship, are preserved in the *Sakalanītisammatamu*, a compendium on the *rājantī* compiled by Maḍiki Siṅgana about the middle of the fourteenth century. The language of these works is simple and direct and the expression of the ideas is clear and unambiguous. They invite special notice as much for their literary excellence as for the light they throw on the system of government obtaining in the Āndhra country in the age of the Kākatiya monarchs.

The contribution of the Śaivas to the Telugu literature of the period is especially important, since it is associated with growth of the *Dvīpada-kāvya* and other types of *dēśī* compositions. It is not known how and when the *dvīpada* had its origin, though it is not improbable, judging from the occurrence of analogous metres, like the *taruṇōja* in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyan king Guṇaga Vijayāditya (A.D. 848–92), that it was known from the tenth century A.D. onwards; of this, however, there is no clear proof.

Śaiva contribution to the literature of the period is both important and extensive, though rigidly sectarian in character and narrow in its scope, being devoted mainly to the hagiology of the Śaiva saints, the exposition of Śaiva theosophy, and the eulogy of Śiva and his attendant deities. Two important works by Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha, his *Basava-purāṇam* and his *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, must be noticed here, since they not only describe the tenets of the Vīra Śaiva faith as expounded by Basava but also throw a flood of light on the religious and social conditions obtaining in the Āndhra country during the period of the Kākatiya monarchy. To popularize the doctrines of Basava and convey his teachings to the masses Sōmanātha adopted the *Jānu-Tenugu* language, being Telugu with a large admixture of the spoken dialect, with the *dvīpada* metre as the vehicle of his expression, so that his poems might be learnt by heart and sung and understood even by common uneducated folk. Though his *Basava-purāṇam* and *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* were designed to be the biographies of the two great Vīra Śaiva reformers and teachers of the twelfth century A.D., he made them compendiums of Vīra Śaiva legend and religious

lore by interweaving into them the lives of the Telugu, Tamil, and Kannaḍa saints famous in the Śaiva tradition of south India. Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha was an erudite scholar in Sanskrit and the Prākṛits besides being conversant with all the South Indian languages, excepting probably Malayālam. He was a poet of great genius with a flair for controversy. The flow of his verse is unrestrained and its technique is uniformly excellent. Though capable of soaring to the highest flights of poetic fancy and imagination, he can be incomparably dull and prosaic and sometimes produces hundreds of mechanical couplets whose only merit is that they are couched in metrical form. Linguists and literary critics often confuse archaic terms and grammatical and metrical peculiarities with poetry; but old and forgotten words, unusual forms of grammar, and metrical peculiarities, though interesting in themselves, must not be taken as substitutes for good poetry; and in judging Sōmanātha's works the good must be set against the mediocre and a balance struck. However, considered apart from their value as poetical compositions the importance of the *Basava-purāṇam* and the *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra* cannot easily be overrated, for they present a vivid picture of the social and religious conditions of the age, and form an invaluable aid to students of the history of the Kākatīya period.

The *stōtra* literature is much more extensive. It consists of *śatakas*, and *udāharāṇas* which are exclusively devoted to the praise of the deities to whom they are addressed. Three important *śatakas*, viz. the *Śivatattvasāram* of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā, the *Sarvēśvara-śatakam* of Yathāvēkkula Annamayya, and the *Vṛishādhipa-śatakam* of Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha, are of special interest, since they are the earliest specimens of Telugu *śataka* literature available at present. In fact the composition and publication of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā's *Śivatattvasāram* in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. may be said to have opened a new epoch in the history of Telugu literature. Though it is generally spoken of as a *śatakam* (a century) it contains, as available at present in an incomplete form, no less than 479 verses in the *Kanda* metre. It is a polemical work devoted to the description of the true character, as understood by the author, of Śaivism, and to the condemnation of rival creeds. Mallikārjuna was an unbending Pāśupata dualist and shows little or no consideration for the advocates of the other schools of thought, whom he denounces in the fiercest terms. Mallikārjuna is, no doubt, a vigorous writer, but he sacrifices his poetic genius on the altar of fanaticism. To him poetry is not so much an expression of artistic feeling as a medium of religious thought. The nature of the subject is such that it hardly leaves any room for the exercise of poetic talent, and the author certainly makes no attempt to transcend the limitations imposed by his subject. His command over the language is perfect; his verse is free and spontaneous, and his style simple and terse. Mallikārjuna's *Śivatattvasāram*, which he has himself translated into Kannaḍa, has exercised profound influence on Śaivism both in Āndhra and

Karṇāṭaka. His other works, the *Rudramahima*, the *Gaṇasahasramāla*, and the *Parvatavarṇana*, all devoted to religious topics, have not come down to us.

The *Sarvēśvara-satakam* of Yathāvākkula Annamayya is far superior to *Śivatattvasāra* in artistic excellence. It is perhaps the best composition of its kind produced during the age. Annamayya like Mallikārjuna was an Ārādhyā; and his poem, which is addressed to Sarvēśvara, the Universal Lord, was composed in Śaka 1164 (A.D. 1242); it consists of 142 verses in *vṛitta* metres which describe the greatness of Sarvēśvara (Śiva), his omnipotence, the superior sanctity of the votaries of Śiva to all the holy *tīrthas* (holy places of pilgrimage), the greatness of the *bhaktas*, the happiness caused by the *Śivayōga* (yōgic contemplation of Śiva), the greatness of the genuine *bhakti*, the *bhakti yōga* (devotional yōga), the control of the mind, the potency of the *Pañchākshari*, the fruit of *bhakti-saṁskāra* (purification caused by *bhakti*), &c. This brief analysis of the subject-matter is enough to show that Annamayya like a true Vīra-Śaiva lays emphasis on *bhakti* and attaches greater importance to the *bhaktas* than even to the worship of the deity. Apart from its importance as an exposition of the Vīra-Śaiva conception of *bhakti*, the *Sarvēśvara-satakam* ranks high among all the *satakas* composed in the Telugu language. Annamayya is a thoughtful writer, and some of his ideas anticipate by two centuries Pōtana, the greatest of the devotional poets who have written in Telugu. His poetry occasionally rises to sublime heights not reached by any other Vīra-Śaiva writer of his age. His style is majestic; and his language is lovely and attractive and, though saturated with Sanskrit words and *saṁāsas*, is clear and easily intelligible; the spontaneous flow of his verse bears testimony to his natural gifts as a poet.

The *Vṛishādhipa-satakam* of Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha is another masterpiece of the *sataka* literature which was produced during this period. He was a younger contemporary of Pratāparudra and appears to have survived him by several years. He is said to have migrated, after the overthrow of the Kākatīya monarchy and the Muslim conquest of Āndhra, to Karṇāṭaka where he continued his religious and literary activities. Sōmanātha was a devout follower of Basava, the founder of the Vīra-Śaiva faith for the propagation of which he laboured incessantly throughout his life. The *Vṛishādhipa-satakam*, as indicated by the *maṇṇa* or the refrain which occurs at the end of each of its stanzas, is addressed to Basava. In it Sōmanātha describes certain aspects of Vīra-Śaivism. He lays stress on devotion to the *Jaṅgamas* (the Līṅgāyat mendicants) and the Līṅga, and expatiates on the greatness of Basava and the way in which he offers protection to the *bhaktas* (devotees). The most interesting feature of the *satakam* is the *bahubhāshā-stuti* or verses composed in several languages, Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Mahārāshṭri, Maṇipravāḷam, Tamil, Kannaḍa, &c., in praise of the spiritual eminence of Basava. The *bahubhāshā-stuti* shows not only Sōmanātha's knowledge of various languages but also his many-sided scholarship. The style of the *Vṛishādhipa-satakam* is vigorous and forceful, and

the language, unlike that of his *Basava-purāṇam* and *Paṇḍitārādhyacharitra*, is shot through with Sanskrit words and *samāsa*s. Sōmanātha is fond of *śabda*- and *artha-alaṅkāras* and employs them frequently with great effect. Besides the *Vṛishādhīpa-śatakam*, he composed thirty-four verses in the *sīsa* metre addressing the god Chenna-Mallu in which he describes the *śaṣṭa-śhalas* or six subjects or topics about which the Vira-Śaivas should occupy themselves in contemplation.¹ Another class of the *stōtra* literature is the *udāharāṇa*, which is devoted to singing the praises either of the deity or of the person to whom it is dedicated. The *udāharāṇa* is a species of *dēśi* composition which appears to have come into existence during the Kākatiya period. It falls into eight sections each of which comprises a *vṛitta*, *kaṣika*, and *utkaṣika* addressing the deity or the person, as the case may be, in each of the eight cases of the Telugu grammar. Two compositions of this class, viz. the *Basavōdāharāṇam* of Pālkuṣiki Sōmanātha and the *Tripurāntakōdāharāṇam* of Ravipāṭi Tripurāntaka, have come down to us. Though excellent specimens of their kind, they do not rank very high as literature. Tripurāntaka was a writer of considerable eminence. His *Aṁbikā-Tārāvaṣi*, though short, is a work of rare merit and gives an insight into the character of his poetical gifts. He does not, however, seem to have produced any other Telugu work; this was probably due to his love of Sanskrit poetry, for the cultivation of which he seems to have employed most of his talents and energies.

¹ See *Chenna-Mallu Sīsamulu, Śatakas*, vol. i (Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons), pp. 31-51.

RELIGION

SĀIVISM was the predominant faith during the Kākatīya period. Its origin is lost in antiquity. There are references to Rudraśiva in the *Vēdas*. He was the same as the Paśupati or Śiva of later times. The three fundamental concepts of Śaivism are Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa. Pati was Śiva himself, Lord of the Paśus, the creatures who are bound by the Pāśas or fetters. Śiva was the Supreme Lord of the Universe and the ultimate reality. The Pāśupata system is said to have been revealed by the Lord Śiva to his *śiṣyas* or disciples, in whom he himself, as the supreme teacher of the Universe, was incarnated. The *Śiva Purāṇa* and the *Kārma Purāṇa* furnish a list of twenty-eight *avatāras* of Śiva called *yōgāchāryas*, the first of these being the great *guru* Śvētāchārya and the last Lakuliśa or Nakuliśa. Each of these *āchāryas* had four devotees and hence the total number of the original disciples who followed the *yōgāchāra* school was 112. Lakuliśa, the last and the twenty-eighth *yōgāchārya*, came to spread spiritual knowledge in this *Kaliyuga*. By the efforts of these *yōgāchāryas* and their followers Śaivism had become and remained the outstanding form of belief in the country from ancient times onwards. Out of the eighteen *Purāṇas* no less than ten were dedicated to Śiva.

Of the many schools of Śaivism like the Kālāmukha, the Kāpālīka, the Śaiva, the Pāśupata, &c., the last mentioned gradually gained the upper hand, eventually securing the favour of the majority of the common people as well as that of the kings, in spite of the predominance enjoyed by the Kālāmukha doctrine at the beginning of the Kākatīya period.

Prōla I, the father of Tribhuvanamalla Bēta II, was a follower of Śaivism. He is said to have been 'the best pupil of Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita'.¹ After renaming the village of Vaijanapalli as Śivapura he gave it as a perpetual tīer to his *guru*, Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, who was proficient in the *Lakulēśvar-Āgama-mahā-siddhānta*. The Kazipet inscription² of Bēta II furnishes some more information about this Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita. This record registers the grant of a hamlet ('*halli*') in the south-western portion of Anumakoṇḍa which Bēta II made as a *sarvamānya* to the same Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, as was mentioned above, in Śaka 1012 Pramōda, in the month of Kārtika on Sunday, the 15th

¹ I.T.D. *Corpus*, No. 12, p. 35.

² Ibid., No. 7. After l. 50 on p. 27, the following passage is missing in the inscription. It is copied from the Mackenzie Manuscripts, as it is, without any correction:

'-ramēśva-halliyam-māḍi tanna-peṣara-dēvālayam
gaṣa nirmisi yā Bētēlvaradēvar-aṅga-bhōgakkum
raṅga-bhōgakkum dēvālayada-khaṇḍarphūṭi
ta-nava-rudhā-karma-nirmāṇakkum-allirpa ta-
pōdhanarg-annadānak-kum-atīthi sa'.

day of the dark fortnight, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. In this inscription the recipient is described as a Kālāmukha ascetic of the *Parvat-āvali*, belonging to the famous Mallikārjuna Śilāmāṭha situated on the Śrīparvata.¹

The existence of the Kālāmukha school of Śaivism in the Āndhra country, even long before the Kākatiya period, is known to us from the Tāndikōṇḍa grant of the Eastern Chālukyan king, Ammarāja II (A.D. 945-70).² This grant informs us that 'in every age (Śaiva) saints like Lakuli and others have taken upon themselves the forms of Rudra, that is, Śiva, and have become self-incarnate in the world as a blessing to righteous men'. These teachers of the Kālāmukha school belonged to various sects called *parshes* (*parshads*), such as the *Simhaparshe*, the *Śaktiparshe*, &c.³ There seem to have been further subdivisions called *āmnāya* or *āvali* and *santati*. One of the Ablūr inscriptions of A.D. 1112 describes the Kālāmukhas as having attained fame in the *Śaktiparshe* of the *Mūvarakōṇeya-santāna* of the Parvat-āmnāya.⁴ From a second record at the same place dated in A.D. 1101 we discover that *Parvat-āvali* was in fact another name for *Parvat-āmnāya*. 'In the line named *Parvat-āvali* which was esteemed to be greatly (that is, undoubtedly) the leading (division) of the sect, celebrated in the world, named *Śaktiparshe*', it says, 'there became famous the eminent (Kālāmukha) ascetic, Kēdāra Śakti, an ornament to the succession, named *Mūvarakōṇeya-santati*'.⁵ Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, the Kālāmukha Śaiva saint and the *rāja-guru* of Prōla I and Bēta II, belonged, as we have just said, to the *Parvat-āvali*⁶ line of the famous Mallikārjuna Śilāmāṭha, one of the five famous Śaiva-māṭhas situated on the Śrīparvata. The names of the Kālāmukha Śaiva saints end in Śakti, Rāsi, Paṇḍita, and Rāsi-paṇḍita. Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita is said, in his Hanumakoṇḍa record,⁷ to have been proficient in the *Lakulēśvar-Āgama*, which is no other than *Lākula-Siddhānta*, that is, the Āgama or the doctrine of the Śaiva teacher, Lakulīśa, Lakulīśvara, or Nakulīśvara. A certain Kālāmukha ascetic, Sōmēśvara Paṇḍita, is described, in one of the Ablūr inscriptions,⁸ as one who is a very sun to (open) the great cluster of water-lilies (blooming in the daytime) that is the *Nyāya Śāstra* (*Nyāya-Śāstra-vistṛita-sarōja-vana-Divākara*), who is a very autumn-moon to bring to full tide the ocean of the Vaisēshikas (*Vaisēshika-yārḍhi-yārḍhana-sarat-sudhākara*), and 'who is a very ruby-ornament of those who are versed in the *Sāṅkhy-Āgama*' (*Sāṅkhy-Āgama-pravīṇa-māṇikyā-ābharaṇa*). This description makes it clear that the Kālāmukhas were *Naiyāyikas* and *Vaisēshikas*. Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita, the *guru* of Kākati Prōla II, was probably identical with

¹ Ibid. The text from line 35 to line 39 should be as shown below: 'palliyam Kālāmukha-tapādhanarum Śrīparv(ā)ta-prasid(ā)ha-Mallikārjuna-Śilāmāṭha-āvali(y)arum-appa-Parv(ā)atāvali(y) Rāmēśvara-paṇḍitarg(g)ē', &c.

² Ibid., p. 163, &c.

³ Ibid., v, 218, 220.

⁴ Ep. Ind., xiii, pp. 163-5.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 219.

⁶ The translation of the passage from lines 34 to 60 of this inscription (as given in the *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangāna Districts*, H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions), which is as follows, is wrong: '(ll. 34-60) to Alīya-Rāmēśvara-paṇḍita of Appa-parvata, the head of the famous Mallikārjuna-Śilā-māṭha of Śrīparvata, an ascetic of the Kālāmukha (creed)...'

⁷ Corpus, No. 12, p. 55.

⁸ EI, v, 220.

the Śaiva saint of the same name, who was the *Sthānādhipati* of the temple of *Bhīmēśvara Mahādēva* at Dakshārāmam and a contemporary of Tribhuvanamalladēva, Vikramāditya VI.¹

The early Kākatiya princes who preceded Bēta II were also followers of Śaivism and of the disciples of Rāmēśvara Paṇḍita of the Kālāmukha school, which was at its zenith during the rule of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, particularly from the time of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I onwards, if not from a still earlier period.

Prōla II, the son of Bēta II, was apparently not as single-minded a devotee of Śaivism as his father and grandfather, whose benefactions seem to have been confined to the followers of this doctrine. Prōla, though himself a Śaivite, was tolerant of other faiths. The Hanumakonda record of the Western Chālukyan king, Vikramāditya VI, dated in the Chālukya Vikrama year 42, may be cited in support of this statement. Mailāmba, the wife of his minister, Bētana Preggaḍa, son of Vaijadanādadhinātha, established a Jain basadi called Kadalalāya-basadi.² Kākati Prōla II made a grant of two *matars* of land under the tank constructed by his minister in the name of his wife, to this same basadi. However, Prōla II's son, Rudradēva, and his brother Mahādēva were *parama-māhēśvaras*, like their grandfather, Bēta II.

The reign of Gaṇapatidēva, son of Mahādēva, is a memorable milestone in the history of the Śaiva religion of the Kākatiya period. The advent into the Āndhra country of the Śaiva teachers of the Pāśupata school of the Gōlākī-maṭha brought about a change in the fortunes of the Kālāmukha sect.

In fact the Kālāmukha and the Pāśupata schools of Śaivism have actually very much in common.³ Nevertheless as systems of faith and custom their paths gradually took different ways and this divergence lay probably chiefly in matters of religious practice and ritual. Even as early as the ninth century A.D., Pāśupata Śaivism had split into four different sects: namely, the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, and Kāruṇika-siddhāntins, all of which are referred to by Vāchaspati Miśra (A.D. 850). These divisions are also mentioned in the *Āgamaprāmāṇya* of Yāmunāchārya, but here the Kālāmukhas take the place of the Kāruṇika-siddhāntins. And in fact we already know that by the tenth century A.D. the Kālāmukha formed a distinct school of Śaivism.

During the reign of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva the Pāśupata Śaivas, chiefly belonging to the Gōlākī-maṭha, gained popularity among the masses as well

¹ *JII*, iv, No. 1229.

² *EI*, ix, 256.

³ Both follow the doctrine of Lakula or Lakuliśvara, the twenty-eighth *yōgachārya*. The Kāpālika, Kālāmukha, &c., are said to have been the offshoots of the Pāśupata school.—*A comprehensive History of India—The Mauryas and the Śātavāhanas*—edited by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 397, n. 2.

'The *Lakula-Siddhānta* is a Vaiśeṣhika system; it is also a *Vaidika* system. The disciples of Lakuli were mainly followers of *Nyāya*, though in later days the two systems, *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣhika*, merged into one another.'—*JAHRS*, xiii, 177.

'This system (Pāśupata) was then called by various other names such as Nakuliśa or Lakuliśa, Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, Yōga, Śaiva, Naiyāyika &c.'—R. Anantakrishna Sastri in his introduction to *The Pāśupata Sūtras with the Peñchārtha-bhāṣya of Kaṇḍiṇya*, p. 5.

as with the reigning house, and the Kālāmukha ascetics lost their hold both in the kingdom at large and in the royal court. Like the names of the Kālāmukhas those of the Pāsupata teachers end in Śiva, Śaṁbhu, and Paṇḍita, but never in Rāsi. Viśvēśvara Śiva was the *rāja-guru*, the royal preceptor of Gaṇapatidēva. He confirmed this king as a Śaivite devotee through the initiation ceremony of *Śiva-dīkshā*. Consequently Viśvēśvara Śivāchārya is known as the *dīkshā-guru* of Gaṇapatidēva.

The Malkāpuram inscription of Rudramadēvī,¹ the daughter and successor of Gaṇapatidēva, gives an interesting and detailed account of the Śaiva teachers of the Gōḷakī-*maṭha*. The account runs thus: In the country known as Dāhala-maṇḍala situated between the rivers Bhāgīrathī and Narmadā, there flourished a line of Śaiva teachers whose founder was Durvāsa. In this line appeared Sadbhāva Śaṁbhu. He received from the Kaḷachuri monarch Yuvarājadēva the Three-lakh Province (that is, a province in which there were three lakhs of villages) as a *bhikṣhā* (maintenance gift). This Śaiva ascetic founded a Śaiva monastery (*maṭha*) called Gōḷakī-*maṭha*, and gave away that province as the *vṛtti* for the maintenance of the teachers of that *maṭha*. Sōma Śaṁbhu, who was born as a member of the same line, composed, with a title taken from his own name, a work called *Sōma-śaṁbhu-paddhati* which was like the *sētu* to the ocean of all the *Āgamas* ('*Sakal-Āgama-sindhu-sētu*'). After Sōma Śaṁbhu came Vāma Śaṁbhu, whose feet also were worshipped by the Kaḷachuri kings. In this Gōḷakī-*maṭha* appeared *gurus* and their disciples in thousands, who had the power to bless or curse the kings of the earth by their mere appearance before them. As time passed on there came into being in this line a sage called Śakti Śaṁbhu. His immediate disciple was Kīrti Śaṁbhu. Then appeared Vimala Śiva, a native of the Kēraḷa country, who was highly respected by the Kaḷachuri monarchs. His favourite scholar was the Śaiva saint, Dharma Śiva. And in turn his spiritual son ('*dharma-tanaya*') was Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu, the crest jewel of Pūrva-grāma in the province of Rādhā of the Gauḍa country, and a great Vēdic scholar. It was he who administered the '*dīkshā*' (initiation) to king Gaṇapatidēva. The Chōḷa and Mālava kings too were devotees of this Viśvēśvara-dēśika, who was also the *dīkshā-guru* of the Kaḷachuri monarchs. Gaṇapatidēva styled himself the son (or spiritual son) of Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu, evidently after the initiation ceremony had taken place. This account comprises most of what we know of the Gōḷakī-*maṭha*² and of the line of the Śaiva teachers connected

¹ *III*, x, No. 395, pp. 205-9; *JAHRS*, iv, pp. 146 ff.

² Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his very interesting article on the Gōḷakī-*maṭha* discusses at some length how that *maṭha* got this name:

'In this country (Chēḍī)', he says, 'there was no Śaivite monastery which could claim to be such a grand institution as the Gōḷakī-*maṭha*, except the Chounsathā Jōgini temple at Bhēḍāghāt, which is of a type suited for the Pāsupata sect to which the teachers and priests of the Gōḷakī-*maṭha* belonged. The worship of the female energy is the prominent feature of this sect (Pāsupata) and the Bhēḍāghāt *maṭha* enshrines the images of very many female deities even exceeding the traditional total number of sixty-four. The *maṭha* is built in the shape of a *gōḷa* or circle in form and the name

with it. These *Śivāchāryas* of the *Gōlakī-maṭha* are also said in many inscriptions to have belonged to the *Gōlakī-vamśa* or religious lineage, and are called *Bhikṣhā-maṭha-santāna* or *Lakṣhādhyāyi-santāna*, that is, 'the descendants of gurus supported by a monastery endowed with a *bhikṣhā* or maintenance gift, or with the lakh-gift'. These Śaiva teachers exerted great influence on the Kaṭachuri kings of Chēdi, the Kākatiya kings of Warangal, and the kings of Mālava and of the Chōla countries.

Yuvarājadēva who made the Three-lakh gift was the Kaṭachuri monarch of Chēdi, Dāhala, or Tripurī. There were two kings bearing the name Yuvarājadēva in the Kaṭachuri dynasty. Yuvarājadēva I ruled in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D.,¹ that is, about A.D. 940, and his grandson Yuvarājadēva II during the last quarter of the same century, a period centring about A.D. 980. It was Yuvarājadēva I, the son of Mugdhatuṅga Prasiddhadhavaḷa, who had brought Prābhāva Śiva, a disciple of Chūdā Śiva or Śikhā Śiva of the Mattamayūra line of Śaiva ascetics, to the country of Chēdi and made him abbot of a monastery which he, the king, had built there.² Lakshmaṇarāja, the son of Yuvarāja I, established a Śaiva monastery at Bīlhari in the Jabbalpore district and his son, Śaṅkaragaṇa, founded another monastery at Deorī Maḍhā. From Yuvarājadēva I onwards down to Nara-siṁha and Jayasiṁha, sons of Gayākarna, all the Kaṭachuri monarchs were ardent Śaivites and pupils of those Śaiva teachers and their disciples. The spiritual lineage of these religious preceptors is named after illustrious *gurus* of the line or after the various celebrated monasteries which were founded or established by these *gurus*, or of which they were the heads. Of such spiritual lineages of Śaiva religious teachers of whom their disciples, the Kaṭachuri monarchs, were patrons, the Durvās-ānvaya was especially famous. Vimala Śiva of that line was the religious preceptor of the Kaṭachuri king Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1170-80). According to the Jabbalpore stone inscription of this monarch he constructed a temple to Śiva in the (Kaṭachuri) year 926 or A.D. 1174.³ This record furnishes much important information about the spiritual preceptors of the Kaṭachuri kings of Tripurī from the time of Yaśaḥkarnadēva to that of his grandson, Jayasiṁha. It is interesting to note

Gōlakī fits in very well, if it was given on account of the structure of the hypethral cloister occupied by the jōginis. But the mention in some inscriptions of the alternative name *Gōla-giri* seems to indicate that the monastery took its name from the hill on which it was situated, which again is a very natural derivation. The Chounsatha Jōgini *maṭha* is situated on a roundish hillock which was probably called *Gōla-giri* or the round hillock. When the *maṭha* was constructed on it the original name of the hillock was lost and it came to be called after the goddesses installed there. It must be remembered that the word Bhēdaghat cannot be the name of a hill. It plainly refers to a ghāt or ford of the Narmadā river at that place. Therefore it has no connexion whatever with the name of the Gōlakī-*maṭha*. My view is that the original name was *Gōlagiri-maṭha*, which in course of time got corrupted into *Gōlakī-maṭha*. I should also state here that Mr. R. D. Banerji, a Superintendent of Archaeology and a competent paleographer, has recorded his opinion that "the script in which the names of the Jōginis have been carved on the pedestals, belongs to the 10th century, the period to which Yuvarājadēva belonged."—*JBORS.*, xiii (1927), p. 138.

¹ *MAI*, No. 23, p. 9.

² Gurgi inscription, *EI*, xii, 127.

³ *EI*, xxv, 309.

that the list of Śaiva teachers known from the Malkāpuram inscription of Rudramadēvi¹ and from the Jabbalpore stone record is identical from Śakti Śiva onwards. The only difference is that their names end in Śaṁbhu in the former record and in Śiva in the latter. The Śivāchāryas who flourished in the interval between Vāma Śaṁbhu and Kīrti Śaṁbhu are not mentioned in the Malkāpuram record. Even from the information furnished by the Jabbalpore stone inscription it is not possible to compile a complete record of all the Śaiva teachers who preceded Śakti Śiva, since part of that record is damaged and largely undecipherable (from the first to the eighth lines). Only the names of Vimala Śiva, Vāstu Śiva, and Purusha Śiva can be made out on the damaged portion. Therefore, it is not possible to construct a complete spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu, the religious preceptor of Kākatī Gaṇapatidēva, from the information in these two available documents. It is, however, certain that the doctrines of the Pāsupata school of Śaivism were preached and propagated in the Āndhra country by Śaiva saints belonging to the Gōlakī-*maṭha* monastery, who had come from the Chēdi or Dāhala country.

From the Malkāpuram inscription we come to know that Rudramadēvi granted to the Śaiva ascetic, Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu, in Śaka 1183, Durmati, on Friday, the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra, and the first day of Mēsha (25 March, A.D. 1261), the village of Mandāram (now known as Mandadam in the Guntur *tāluk* of the Guntur district) together with the *laṅka* lands of the riverine country situated in the Kaṇḍravāṭi of the Velanāḍu-*viśaya* on the southern bank of the river Kṛishṇā, in accordance with the desire of her father, who had already made a gift of it by word of mouth to his *guru*.² After receiving this gift from the queen, Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu constructed at that village a temple to Śiva which he called after his own name, and also a monastery (*Suddha-Śaiva-maṭha*) and a feeding house. In that village he settled many brāhmaṇas and renamed it Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī or Viśvanātha-Gōlagiri.³ Provision was also made in this *maṭha* for

¹ *JAHRS*, iv, pp. 146 ff.; *SII*, x, No. 395.

² *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that the *maṭha* which Viśvēśvara Śiva established here is termed *Suddha-Śaiva*.

*‘Trithā vibhajya tat-tiṣṭam-ekam bhāgam Pinākinī
Vidyārthibhyo param bhāgam Suddha Śaiva-maṭhāya cha
Prasūty-ārāgya-sādhayām vipra-satṛāyā chētarām
prādād-Viśvēśvara-Śivas-Śaiva-siddhānta-pāragol’*

The *Suddha-Śaiva* seems to have been one of the two kinds of Pāsupata Śaivism, the *Vaidika* and the *Tāntrika*. According to the *Kāraṇ-Āgama*, the Pāsupata-*vrata* is said to be of two kinds, one *Vaidika* and the other *Tāntrika*. The former was prescribed to the *drījas* and the latter to others (other than *drījas*):

*‘Vaidikam Tāntrikam-ch-iti
vratham-Itad-avidhā bhavēt
drījānām Vaidikam prōktam-
anyēshām Tāntrikum smṛitam.’*

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on Gōlakī-*maṭha* states: ‘Of course the tenets of the sect

prasūty-ārōgya-śāla. Besides furnishing the above information this record also mentions the charitable gifts and benefactions which Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu made at other places. He founded a monastery called Upala-*maṭha* at Kālīśvaram and granted to it as a perpetual fief the brāhmaṇa village of Ponna-*grāma* which he himself had founded. At Ēlīśvarapura (the present Ēlīśvaram in the Nalgonda district) to the north-east of Śrīśailam on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā he built a *maṭha* of sixteen *avarakas* (*Śrīśail-ēśāny-Ēlīśvarapuri sa maṭham cha śhōḍaś-āvarakam*), and his pupil Gaṇapatidēva granted the village of Kāṇḍrakōṭa in the Pallināḍu country (modern Palnāḍu in the Guntur district) as an '*āchārya-dakṣiṇā*', 'the fee of the teacher', for a feeding house and for a water-pandal (*chalivendra*) there, as an annexe of the *maṭha*. Besides these, the Śaiva ascetic, Viśvēśvara Śiva, having set up *lingas* in various places such as Mantrakūṭa, Chandravalli, Kommu-*grāma* (Kommūru), Nivṛitti, and Uttara-Sōmaśila, granted villages whose rentals should support their worship.

There were many branches of this Gōḷakī-*maṭha* at different places in the Āndhra country, such, for example, as Bhaṭṭiprōlu in the Guntur district, Tripurāntakaṁ and Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district, and Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah district. At all these places *śivāchāryas* of this Gōḷakī-*maṭha* were the *sthānādhipatis* of the temples constructed on the various sites, and exerted much influence not only on their own disciples and students but also on the common folk of the neighbouring communities. Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu and other *śivāchāryas* of the (aforesaid) Gōḷakī-*maṭha* were celibates and Vaidikas. Pāsupata Śaivism of the Gōḷakī-*maṭha* of this pattern appears to have flourished almost up to the end of the reign of Pratāparudra, the last Kākatiya monarch of Warangal, who was himself a *parama-māhēśvara*.

The Muslim invasions which were directed against the Kākatiya kingdom during the period of the Delhi Sultanate in the first half of the fourteenth century may well have hindered the progress of the Śaiva religious institutions in the country whose growth was unchecked until that time. After the fall of Warangal we do not find even a single inscription in the whole of the Telugu country mentioning the *śivāchāryas* of the Gōḷakī-*maṭha* or the Gōḷakī-*maṭhas* of the Āndhra country so frequently referred to previously.

There is another school of Śrauta Śaiva in the Telugu country, known as Ārādhyā Śaivism. This is also said to have been propagated, from very ancient times, by twelve *śivāchāryas*, commonly known as *dvādaś-āchāryas*. The first three of these, namely Rēvaṇa, Maruḷa, and Ēkōrāma, are known as *Siddhas* (*Siddha-traya*). The next three *āchāryas*, namely Udbhaṭ-ārādhyā, Vēman-ārādhyā, and Viśv-ārādhyā, are collectively familiar as the *Ārādhyā-traya*. Next to them come Śrīkaṇṭha or Nilakaṇṭhāchārya, Haradattāchārya,

(Gōḷakī lineage) were Tāntrika, which even made provision for human sacrifices for the general welfare.' Since the *maṭha* founded by Viśvēśvara Śaṁbhu at Mandāram in the Guntur district was a *Suddha Śaiva maṭha*, the Gōḷakī order in the Telugu country appears to have been non-Tāntrik, that is, *Vaidika* or *Śrauta Śaiva*. The *Suddha Śaiva* order has nothing to do with *Tāntrik Pāsupata*.

and Bhāskarabhattachārya. These go by the generic name of the *Āchārya-traya*, whilst lastly the three teachers Śrīpati Paṇḍita, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, and Mañchana-Paṇḍita form the famous *Paṇḍita-traya*. All these were *grihas-thas* and followed Vedic rites and ritual and yet at the same time preached Śaivism throughout the country. Those brāhmaṇas who followed the Śaiva school of these *Āchāryas* are called *Ārādhyas*, and *Līṅgadhāris*. Their adherents even now form a distinct sect among the brāhmaṇas of the Āndhra country. They strictly observe caste distinctions up to the present time.

Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, who was one of the *Paṇḍita-traya*, was a contemporary of the Chālukya-Chōla feudatory chief, Velanāṭi-Chōḍa of Chandavōlu in the Guntur district, who ruled from Śaka 1085 to Śaka 1103. Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha, who flourished during the reign of the last Kākatiya monarch, Pratāparudra of Warangal, composed a biography of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita in Telugu in the *Dvīpada* metre and thus immortalized him. Though he did not feel himself able personally to relinquish brāhmanism and the Vēdic ritual, yet Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita greatly admired and respected Basava, the minister of the Kaḷachuri king, Bijjaladēva, and the protagonist of the Vira-Śaiva school, which had rejected Vēdic rites and ceremonies and denounced caste distinctions. On the other hand, Pālkuṛiki Sōmanātha, his biographer, is said to have become a Vira-Śaiva of the Basava school of Kanarese Śaivism, though he also seems to have been a brāhmaṇa by birth.

Though the Vira-Śaiva school in the Kanarese country propagated by Basava was at its zenith during this period it does not seem to have attracted adherents from the common people of the Āndhra country to any considerable extent. The Vira-Śaiva school of Basava also, no doubt, still has its followers in the Telugu country, but their number is now very limited. They are called Vira-Śaivas or Līṅgāyats. The Vira-Śaivism of the Basava school did not flourish as widely in the Telugu country during the Kākatiya period as did the Pāsupata school; yet the worship of Śiva was widespread, and Śaivism, of whichever school it may have been, was predominant during this whole period.

The Śaiva *maṭhas* of the time were also educational institutions. They played a very important role in imparting religious teaching to their disciples. All the important Śaiva *maṭhas* belonging to the Gōlakī order maintained teachers who taught the *Vēdas*, the *Sāstras*, the various arts, and the Śaiva philosophy to their disciples. Kings and nobles made liberal grants of lands and villages to these monasteries for the support of the customary rites and festivals in temples and for the education of the students. Each of these Śaiva monasteries had a *satra* (feeding house) attached to it where free meals were available for all those who visited the place as pilgrims.

Besides Śaivism there were of course other faiths such as the *Arhata-mata* and Vaishṇavism. *Arhata-mata* or Jainism, though in a declining stage, had not disappeared completely from the Āndhra country as had its companion faith, orthodox Buddhism. The Buddha had by this time become merely one

of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and was thus reabsorbed into Hinduism; but Jainism maintained to some extent its individual character.

It is generally said that there was bitter persecution of the Jains and that their temples were totally destroyed during the Kākatiya period. The *Basava Purāṇa* and the *Paṇḍitārādhyā-Charitra* are cited in proof of this statement. These works mention some of the places at which such atrocious acts were perpetrated, and the names of some of the Śaivites who were responsible for such deeds. It is true that there was severe harassment of the Jains and destruction of their temples by the Vīra Śaivas of the Basava school in the Kanarese country. In fact the Jains had already encountered cruelty and bigotry in the Tamil country centuries before and had suffered terribly at the hands of the Tamil Śaiva saints such as Tirujñānasambandar and others. This last mentioned teacher is said to have vanquished the Jains in debate at Madura and it is related that on that occasion 8,000 Jainas were put to death by impalement. The growth of the intensely emotional Śaiva *bhakti* cult of the Tamil country in the seventh and succeeding centuries of the Christian era, and the aggressive Vīra-Śaiva school of the Kanarese country, whose doctrines were propagated by Baṇḍāru Basava during the twelfth century, was largely responsible for the decline of Jainism in general and for such atrocities as are mentioned above. Most of the places at which such dreadful acts were perpetrated can be definitely located either in Tamil or in Kanarese country, and not in the Āndhra territory. These cruel deeds, however, necessarily had their repercussions in the Āndhra country. But evidence is lacking to prove that destruction and massacre on such an extensive scale as in the Kanarese country took place also in the Āndhra-dēśa. There is no doubt that traditional stories and legends exist to that effect, but these are not confirmed either by inscriptions or by other authentic contemporary evidence. Some stray acts and a few outbreaks here and there, if there were any, even if they should in fact be confirmed by irrefutable evidence, cannot be regarded as of common occurrence. On the contrary, we know that Prōla II, the son of Bēta II, granted some land to a Jain *basadi* established by Mailāmba,¹ the wife of his minister, Bētana Pregarā. And in fact some unpublished inscriptions of the Kākatiya period from Telaṅgāna record the installation of Jain images in temples at this time. In addition there is literary evidence to show that there were Jains at Warangal, the centre of the Pāśupata Śaivism, during the reign of Pratāparudra. A certain Appayācharya, a follower of Jainism and a resident of Warangal, wrote a work called the *Jinēndrakalyāṇābhyaudayani*, otherwise known as *Pratishṣṭhāsāra*, during the reign of Vīra Rudradēva or Pratāparudra. The author of that work was a pupil of Pushpasēnāchārya. He says that he completed that work in Śaka 1241, on Sunday, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Māgha. On the whole, however, Jainism was on the decline during the Kākatiya period.

¹ *El*, ix, 256 ff.

Next to Śaivism comes Vaiṣṇavism. This faith is known to us at this time chiefly from the records of the construction of temples to the god Viṣṇu in his different aspects, and from references to his worship. The type of *Śrīvaiṣṇavism* which was in vogue later during the Vijayanagara period is conspicuous by its absence during the times with which we are dealing. Very little is in fact known about the type of Vaiṣṇavism prevailing in the Kākatiya period. No religious Vaiṣṇavācharya is mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the Kākatiya princes and there is no evidence to show that there was any rivalry between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the Kākatiya kingdom in general.

The Kākatiyas were great temple builders. Many temples of this period at Hanumakoṇḍa, Pālaṁpēṭa, Pillalamagṛi, and several other places are still extant either in a half-ruined condition or in a good state of preservation.

The temple held a place of supreme importance in the socio-religious life of the period. It exerted much benevolent influence on the social life of the village. It developed into a great religious as well as an educational institution. It had its own services for conducting *aṅga-bhōga* and *raṅga-bhōga* of the god installed therein. Generally the temple establishment included the *sthānādhipatis*, a *śrīkaraṇa* who was the accountant in charge of the temple treasury, 300 *sānis* (*dēvadāsīs*), *nibandhakāru*, who were engaged in performing services to God both daily and on special occasions, and a host of others. The temple services included generally musical interludes by the musicians; *vāra-vanitas* also performed dances; pipers, drummers, players on the *jalaja-karaṇḍa*, *kāhaṣa* both great and small, *bhēri*, *āvaja*, and *vaṇṣa*, umbrella-bearers, body-guards (*aṅga-rēka*), torch-bearers (*divve-kōlala-vāru*), conch-blowers (*ēka-saṅkulavāru*, *dhavaḷa-saṅkulavāru*), players on bell-metal bells (*jēgaṇṭalavāru*), *mokharis*, &c. These services were paid for from the proceeds of endowments of land, or by the stipends received either in the form of cash or of food or of both. These temples were endowed liberally by those who constructed them—by nobles, kings, and rich merchants and landowners, with grants of lands, either wet or dry or both, and of villages, whose rents and produce were devoted to the upkeep of religious foundations.

Village and family deities, such as Ēkavīra, Māhuramma, Kākatamma and Kāmēśvarī, were very popular and their worship was general throughout this period.

During these times the performance of various religious acts such as *vrataṁs* attained much importance. Some of these *vrataṁs*, like the *Aśūnya-śayana-vrata*, *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa-vrata*, *śukla* and *krishṇa Dvādāśī-vrata*, *Anant-Ārundhatī-vrata* and *Jalaśayana-vrata*, &c., described in the *Kalpa* texts, are mentioned in Kākatiya inscriptions. The performance of *vrata* was an act from which the performer acquired much merit. Pilgrimages also were often undertaken with the same object. Those who were unable themselves to go on a pilgrimage used to perform it by proxy.

PART X
FINE ARTS
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

By G. YAZDANI, M.A., LITT.D., O.B.E.

- I. Preliminary Remarks, General Survey.
- II. Architecture; origin and development, significance of religion in the evolution of the art.
- III. Sculpture; Buddhist, Jaina, and Brāhmanic: spiritual and artistic import of these.
- IV. Painting; its rise, development, and decline.

APPENDIXES:

- A. Terracottas, discovered during excavations.
- B. Art of Dancing, as represented in the Sculpture and Painting of the Deccan.



Royal Chamber, a lady dressing the hair of another lady in the group, Cave XVII, Ajanta

I

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

EARLY man of the Deccan has left some engravings on rocks which show his sense of the pictorial art in the drawing of both human and animal figures, however crude they may be. Some notable examples of these drawings are on a hill near Benkal (Plate I *a*), a village in the Gangāvati *tāluk* of the Raichur District.¹ One of them represents a hunting scene, the figures of horses with riders being prominent in it. One hunter is armed with an axe which closely resembles a metal weapon, and on this assumption the drawing may not be considered to date back earlier than the Iron age, and may even be much later. Another class of ancient monuments which bear some relation to Buddhist architectural forms in regard to their origin is represented by the megalithic tombs of the Deccan. They exist in great abundance, and among them 'cairns', or tumuli with stone circles, show a striking resemblance to the Buddhist *stūpas*, and may be their earlier prototypes (Plate I *b*). But architecture as a fine art must possess certain aesthetic features and must also indicate a creative effort in the shaping of human actions towards the attainment of intellectual progress and elevation of life in its various aspects. The prehistoric monuments of the Deccan fall far below such a standard and therefore they cannot be studied in this chapter.

The earliest specimens of fine art of which the dates can be fixed on palaeographical grounds are Buddhist antiquities, representing painting, sculpture, and architectural themes. But these do not date back earlier than the second century B.C., although the art which they exhibit is of a well-developed type and must have taken one or two or more millenniums to reach that stage. To expand and justify this view it may be observed that the representations of four-storied buildings in the façades of the caves at . Konḍāne and Beḍṣā, with projecting balconies supported by curved brackets and deeply recessed windows fitted with latticed screens of elegant design, show a long tradition and continuous progress in the art of architecture, and could not have sprung up all of a sudden in the second century B.C., to which date the monuments have been assigned on the basis of the inscriptions carved on them (Plate II *a*).² This opinion is further confirmed by the arrangement of the small and large rafters and cross-beams carved in the rock-ceiling of the *vihāra* at Konḍāne. The arrangement suggests engineering

¹ The best route by which to approach Benkal is from the Gangāvati-Ginigera road; a *kachcha* path branches off near the sixth milestone when coming from Gangāvati.

² Konḍāne and Beḍṣā are both in the Bombay State now, but in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era they would have belonged to the Āndhra kingdom of the Deccan.

principles ensuring the strength of the building on the one hand and economy of cost on the other by a judicious use of beams of suitable dimensions (Plate II *b*).

For the specimens of sculpture also, it will be convenient to refer to the above monuments again, although in the second century B.C. the art of carving seems to have reached a high-water mark all over the Deccan, and the sculpture of the eastern zone as shown in the statuary of Amarāvati (Plate III *a*) is as vivid and graceful as that of the central and western zones. Among the sculptures at Beḍṣā and Koṇḍāne, which will be described in some detail later in this chapter, the *Yaksha* and *Yakṣiṇī* riding on horses in the *chaitya*-cave at the former place are so bold in conception and so life-like in expression that they can be placed with advantage side by side with the best specimens of sculpture in the world (Plate III *b*). As the art is purely indigenous, it must have had its origin many centuries earlier in order to attain such perfection of technique and force of style. In the *chaitya*-cave at Koṇḍāne the dancing figures are not only delightful because of the grace of their pose but they also show an exuberance of spirit based on a fuller significance of life (Plates IV-V). The intellectual and technical qualities of these specimens represent a highly developed art, suggesting long practice and continuous progress of thought.

Fortunately some specimens of the painting of this period have also survived, and they too confirm the above view regarding the beginning of the art of the Deccan in a remote period, hundreds of years before the Christian era. These specimens are preserved in a *chaitya*-cave, No. 10, at Ajanta, which has two inscriptions that help to fix its date. One of them is carved on the façade of the cave, and the other painted on the wall of its left aisle. According to both Indian and European epigraphists, among whom the German savant, Prof. Lüders, is prominent, the painted inscription belongs to the middle of the second century B.C., while the inscription of the façade is still earlier, certain characters showing Aśokan forms. The painting connected with the former inscription represents a Buddhist story, the visit of a rājā to the *Bodhi*-tree under which the Buddha obtained enlightenment. The painting is a long one but the greater part of it has been destroyed by time. The portion near the *Bodhi*-tree is fairly intact, and represents the rājā with his family and attendants on the left side, and a large party of musicians and dancers, comprising fifteen artistes, on the right. The painter has attempted to present human life in all its aspects, religious as well as worldly, and the portrayal of the figures expresses not only spiritual feeling but also a joyful outlook on the beautiful features of the world. This painting further exhibits a happy combination of emotion on the one hand, and on the other of technical niceties such as are to be found only in well-developed art.

In emphasizing the antiquity of the fine arts of the Deccan two questions arise incidentally, first, whether these arts have any connexion with the Indus

valley culture, the date of which has been tentatively fixed in the middle of the third millennium B.C.; and secondly, whether the arts in their origin and essential features are indigenous or are based on those of the western Asiatic countries. The answer to the first question is not difficult to give, for there is apparently nothing in common between the styles or technique of the sculpture and architecture of the Deccan and those of the Indus valley. Unless the writings on the seals should, if ever deciphered, prove the contrary, it will be safe to assume that the Indus valley antiquities are more intimately connected with their prototypes in Babylonia and other ancient countries of Western Asia than with the specimens of art produced in the Deccan during the first millennium B.C.

As regards the second question, it may be observed that in the latter part of the first millennium B.C., or even earlier, foreigners who are known in history and contemporary records under the names of *Sakas* (Scythians), *Pahlavas* (Parthians), and *Yavanas* (Greeks) entered the Deccan in considerable numbers and became merged in the general population of the country. The earliest of these were probably *Sakas* or Scythians, who, after leaving their original home on the shores of the Caspian Sea, had settled down in the country to the east of Fārsistān, which was subsequently named after them Sīstān (Sakistān, Arabicized form Sajistān). They entered India probably both through Afghānistān and through Sindh, and the emigrants proceeding through the latter province spread towards the Deccan. The megalithic tombs of the Deccan have been attributed by some eminent archaeologists to such Scythian immigrants, because these tombs bear a close resemblance to their prototypes in other countries of the world wherever the Scythians went. If this view be accepted, the entry of the Scythians into the Deccan must be placed at several millenniums B.C., for the pottery and the iron and bronze implements which have been found in the majority of the megalithic tombs show a primitive culture.

As regards the *Pahlavas*, they would have come in the wake of the *Sakas*, and, as in North-west India, there may have been settlements of the *Pahlavas* in the Deccan and the provinces bordering on the north and north-west of it even before the Buddha preached his doctrine in the fifth century B.C. The *Yavanas* (Greeks) came to India first with Alexander and their migration to the southern provinces was probably connected with motives to extend their political power, as well as to propagate the Buddhist religion, for the names of many *Yavanas* are associated with the monuments of that faith.

Now studying the monuments themselves, we may note that although some archaeologists have connected the style of the rock-hewn shrines of the Deccan with the architecture of the rock-hewn tombs of Egypt and Persia, yet the idea of dwelling in caves, in the primitive period for personal safety and later, in a stage of intellectual and spiritual advancement, for contemplation and enlightenment, has been inherent in man in the East as well as in

the West. The natural caverns may have acquired sanctity as the abode of *rishis*, for whose comfort their devoted disciples may have removed the irregular features of the habitats of such pious *gurus* by dressing the walls and ceilings and levelling the floors. This process would have developed in course of time and a conventional style arisen of building shrines and replicas of tombs (*stūpas*) by cutting the rock. The cave temples of the Deccan are therefore indigenous in regard both to their origin and to their development and their architecture seems to have been copied from earlier, or contemporary, wooden or brick and stone structures. The influence of wood architecture is apparent not only in the shape of the pillars and their inward inclination,¹ but also in the presence of semi-circular rafters of wood in the ceilings of the early *chaitya*-caves at Kārle, Koṇḍāṇe, and Ajanta, which are actually redundant in rock-hewn shrines but would have been an essential feature of the ceiling of a wooden building. Similarly, the beams and rafters of the *vihāra*-cave at Koṇḍāṇe clearly show that they have been copied from the flat ceilings of structures built of bricks or of stone. Bricks of large size and of strong texture were made in the Deccan from quite early times, and in the excavations at Ajanta the bricks found at the base of the façade of cave X probably date from the second century B.C., for the inscription referring to the construction of the façade is in second century B.C. characters.² During the period extending from the first to the third centuries B.C., or going still farther back, the use of bricks for walls seems to have been quite common in the Deccan for both religious and secular buildings. Similarly, flat ceilings resting on wooden beams also came into vogue, although the majority of the dwellings were wooden structures with barrel-shaped or circular roofs. Some of these houses were of more than one story, and had, as we have noticed above, balconies and latticed windows opening on the front of the building. The bulk of the population lived in huts built of mud walls and straw roofs such as are seen in the villages today. The style of architecture, as shown by the archaeological monuments, or as represented in the early paintings of Ajanta, or the sculpture of the Buddhist caves, indicates no foreign influence as far as can be seen, except for the apsidal form of the *chaityas*, which bears a striking resemblance to the plans of the Roman basilicas, or to the still earlier Phoenician temples of Malta, although the latter have a semi-circular projection at both ends in the length of the structure. The Ka'ba, which according to the Muslim tradition was built by Abraham, has an apsidal extension at one end, called at the present

¹ The pot-shaped bases of the pillars also seem to have been copied from wooden columns, the ends of which were placed in pots to safeguard them from the attack of white ants or termites.

² The size of the bricks discovered at Ajanta is: length 22 in., breadth 12 in., and thickness 3 in. Bricks of similar dimensions have also been found in the excavations at Paithan, the ancient capital of the Sātavāhanas. Bricks, a little smaller in size but very strong in texture, have been found in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur. Among these, wedge-shaped and square bricks have also been found, the former used in the circular base of a *stūpa*.

time the *Hajim*. In studying the old Phœnician temples one notices that the square or rectangular part of the building was meant for housing the images of gods, and the semi-circular or circular projections were sacrificial pits for holding offerings to deities. Phœnicians were expert builders and wood-carvers in King David's time, and he invited a party of Phœnician artisans to assist him in building the temple at Jerusalem.¹ Phœnicians were also great sea-traders, and references in the Old Testament to gold, spices, and peacocks, which are specially associated with the western coast of India, indicate that there was some sea-borne trade between the western part of the Deccan and the western Asiatic countries. There is thus some possibility that the apsidal plan of the house of God of the Phœnicians was copied in India as it was at Mecca, which was situated in the middle of the caravan route from Palestine to the Yemen. The form may indeed have sprung up independently here, for the offering of sacrifices would have required at the beginning a circular pit, which at a later period might have become a conventional form for the altar. But against the latter view are the facts that the apsidal form of the temples disappeared from India with the waning of the Buddhist religion, and that except in the case of one or two temples in South India this plan is not to be noticed among Brāhmanic temples elsewhere. The offering of sacrifices to gods was an essential feature of the Brāhmanic faith from the beginning, and if the apsidal form of temples had originated and developed in the Deccan or in India, it would not have been given up on the extinction of the Buddhist religion.

Minor traces of western Asiatic influence may also be seen in the early sculpture of the Deccan, for instance in the winged animals at Pitalkhorā, Aurangābād District, the crenellated or stepped parapet carved at Kondāne, Kārle, Ajanta, and other early Buddhist sites, and the bell-shaped capitals of the pillars of many ancient monuments in the Deccan. Among these, the winged animals have a close resemblance to their prototypes in Assyria; the stepped parapet which is so common in North African Islamic monuments has recently been discovered on the monuments of Ur (Chaldea) and must have come to India from the latter place. The bell-shaped capitals have a striking affinity to their prototypes at Persepolis, and this form may have been introduced into India by the early Parthian (*Pahlava*) converts to Buddhism. Such similarities are, however, few, and it would be a sad mistake to conclude from them that the architecture or sculpture or other arts of the Deccan are wholly or even largely of foreign origin.

As the specimens of art belonging to the early period are of a more developed character in the Deccan than are those to be found north of the Narmadā, and the Godāvarī, it appears that the fine arts had not only an independent but a much earlier beginning in the Deccan than they had in Northern India. For example, the architecture and sculpture of the rock-

¹ 1 Chronicles, xxii, 2-4, 15.

hewn shrines of the Deccan are of a much higher quality than those of the rock-temples of Bihar and Orissa. As regards the superior workmanship to be noticed in the lion-capital of Sārnāth, or the carving at Sāñchī, it may be observed that it is doubtful whether the former represents Indian craftsmanship, while at the latter place there are inscriptions to show that artisans of the Deccan were employed to build and embellish the Great Stūpa. Āndhras were politically strong enough to resist the encroachments of the Mauryas, and after the fall of the latter dynasty they actually defeated their successors, the Śuṅgas, and took possession of a large part of their empire, almost up to the borders of Magadha. The gold industry of the Deccan was in a flourishing condition in the time of Aśoka, and the references to the export of jewels and fabrics by Kautilya and early foreign writers confirm the impression that during the centuries preceding the Christian era the Deccan was not only an emporium of trade but a great centre of culture and civilization.

It may further be observed that the human figures represented in the sculpture or painting of the Deccan are mainly aboriginal,¹ showing that the sculptor or painter had before his mind the people of his own stock even when carving or portraying the figures of gods and goddesses. But this feature of the art of the Deccan is lost in the third century A.D., when the Āndhras were succeeded by the Vākātakas who had matrimonial relations with the Guptas. In the later sculpture and painting of the Deccan the principal figures have Āryan features, while the aborigines appear only as servants or play a similar role.

The potter's craft was also fairly well developed in the centuries immediately preceding or following the Christian era, and the terra-cotta figurines discovered in the excavations at Kondāpur exhibit not only the skill of the craftsman in faithfully representing the facial features, but also a superior art in giving expression to the character and feeling of the semi-religious personages represented. The jeweller's art had also reached a high stage of elegance and many a decorative motif to be noticed in the early architecture and sculpture of the Deccan is borrowed from jewellery patterns and designs. All these crafts seem to have been closely correlated, and as a master-sculptor may have played the role of an expert architect in the designing of rock-hewn shrines, similarly a goldsmith would have acted in the same capacity for the decorative schemes which form such an important feature of these monuments. These questions will be discussed further when the architecture, sculpture, and painting of the Deccan are described separately in chronological order.

¹ Figures of foreigners, *Sakas* or *Pahlavas*, are carved as donors of caves in some places, and they can be easily identified by their head-gear, dress, and foot-wear (Plate XXIII a).

II

ARCHITECTURE

IN the preliminary remarks made above it has been shown that the earliest specimens of architecture to be found in the Deccan belong to the Buddhist faith, which flourished there from about the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D., when it became practically extinct. The Brāhmanic faith was patronized during this period by many of the rulers, but for the history of the architecture of the Deccan the revival of this latter system of belief begins in the sixth century A.D., under the Chālukyas, who were enthusiastic patrons of architecture. They adorned their capital, Bādāmi, with rock-hewn shrines, some of which still exist and represent the earliest Brāhmanic monuments of this style in the Deccan. The Chālukyas in the northern part of the Deccan were ousted by the Rāshtrakūṭas, who built some temples of outstanding merit at Ellora during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. These shrines are hewn out of the living rock although their plans, comprising a fore-court, a room for the sacred bull, *Nandi*, a hall with a portico in front and the cella or shrine at the back, are copied from temples built of brick and stone which were being constructed on the same model about that time. At Ellora there are also rock-hewn shrines belonging to the Jaina faith, and these were probably carved in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Among them the Indra Sabhā group is the most important, and indeed, both in ornamental detail and in workmanship, it is in no way inferior to the Brāhmanic caves.

Among the oldest structural shrines which still exist, the temple at Aihole¹ is especially interesting, because, like the Buddhist *chaityas*, it has an apsidal plan, although the temple is dedicated to Viṣṇu. It was probably built in the seventh century A.D., during the reign of Vikramaditya-Satyaśraya, the first Chālukyan king of this name.² About the same time, or a few decades later, was built the well-known Śaiva temple, Pāpanāth, at Paṭṭadakal.³ Its design comprises a square hall and a square cella with a porch of the same plan between them. The cella has a spire above it, the curvilinear form of which, although copied in the temples at Ālampur in the Raichur District, is more akin to the shape of the spires of Bhuvaneśvar and Koṇārak temples, and also to the form of the majority of spires in North India. The general form of the spires of the Deccan temples is that of a storied building,

¹ Aihole, a village in the Bījāpur district. It is not far from Bādāmi, the old capital of the Chālukyas.

² *Indian Antiquary*, viii, 285-6.

³ Paṭṭadakal is ten miles north-east of Bādāmi and eight miles south-west of Aihole.

the dimensions of which gradually decrease as it rises upward. The spires are finally crowned with circular caps and finials of artistic design.

The structural temples of the Deccan, built between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D., form a magnificent group, and their architectural features exhibit the influence of both North Indian and South Indian temples. The later Chālukyas, the Yādavas, and the Kākatīyas who ruled over the Deccan during this period were fond of architecture, and their buildings are characterized by a breadth of vision and loftiness of spirit on the one hand and by superior craftsmanship on the other. The majority of these temples are dedicated to Śiva, but some belong to the Vaiṣṇavaite cult, while the number of fanes built by Jains is not inconsiderable.

To give the reader a clear idea of the artistic merits and special features of the architecture of the Deccan it will be best to describe some of the typical monuments of the country. Taking the Buddhist shrines first, which are the oldest chronologically, it may be observed that the *stūpas* were perhaps the most sacred, each having been raised on a relic of the mortal remains of the Buddha. Originally the form of the *stūpa* as a burial-mound seems to have been adopted from the hemispherical tumuli of the Scythians,¹ or from the megalithic tombs (cairns) of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan and South India, for such tombs are found in great abundance there. Be this as it may, it is a fact that by the third century B.C., i.e. during the life-time of Aśoka, the *stūpa* had assumed a definite form, i.e. a round base, rising perpendicularly up to a certain height, a dome-shaped structure resting upon this and being itself surmounted by a casket-shaped apex which ultimately was crowned with an umbrella, the emblem of both religious and secular dignity. Round the base of the structure was arranged a path for circumambulation, which was enclosed outwardly by a railing with gateways facing the cardinal points. The Āndhra-deśa, or the country adjoining the deltas of the rivers Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī, was a great stronghold of the Buddhist religion from the third century B.C. down to the sixth or seventh century A.D., and remains of several hundred *stūpas* have been traced in this part of the country, the latest discoveries having been made at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā, in the present Guntur district of the Madras Presidency.

For the purpose of this chapter a short description of the central *stūpa* at Amarāvati, which was perhaps the most magnificent in this part of the country, will suffice. Unfortunately, the *stūpa* does not exist now. It was in a ruinous condition in 1797, when Colonel Mackenzie first saw it, and since then the bulk of its fragments have been removed to London where they are

¹ As these tombs have a striking resemblance to their prototypes in Etruria, Spain, and Southern France, some archaeologists, as was observed above (*supra*, p. 719), are of the opinion that the megalithic tombs of the Deccan and Southern India were built by Scythians (*Sakas*) when they spread over this part of India.

preserved and exhibited at the British Museum, and the residue kept in the country are now housed and displayed at the Government Museum in Madras. According to the descriptions given by experts,¹ it appears that the base of the *stūpa* was of considerable size, being approximately 162 ft. in diameter. It was wainscoted with sculptural marble, the artistic and iconographic features of which will be discussed at the appropriate place in this chapter. Above the circular base was built the dome, which seems to have been from 120 to 140 ft. in diameter. The lower portion of the dome, which rose almost perpendicularly from the base, was also encased with marble slabs containing representations of the *stūpa* itself and *jātaka* stories carved artistically in relief. The upper part of the dome was built of brick and covered with stucco on which floral designs and religious emblems were similarly executed in low relief.

The apex of the dome comprised a casket with an umbrella rising above it. Both of them were elegantly carved. The base of the *stūpa* projected some three feet towards each of the cardinal points; this plan was resorted to with the double object of breaking the monotony of the uniform surface of the base and of affording support to the five monolithic pillars which were built at those points, along the upper part of the drum of the *stūpa*. The monolithic pillars in their turn represented a decorative feature of the *stūpa*, and also added strength to the masonry of the building by serving as buttresses. A processional path was arranged round the *stūpa* so that the votaries might walk round the building in a ceremonial manner and also view with due respect and reverence the various emblems of the faith and the scenes from the life of the Master. The path was enclosed by a marble railing externally and there were gateways for entry and exit in different directions.

This *stūpa* when intact must have represented a vigorous style of architecture, based upon lofty religious ideals and a highly developed artistic sense. The latter two features of the early architecture of the Deccan are more impressively represented in the Buddhist *chaityas*, or cathedrals, the plans of which, as was observed above, resemble closely those of the Roman basilicas. Among such shrines the *chaityas* at Bhājā, Bedsā, Pitalkhorā, Kāle, Kondāne, Nāsik, Junnar, and Ajanta constitute a magnificent group, and they all belong to the first two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Being almost coeval in age they possess many common features, such as the use of wooden ribs in the vault of the ceiling, the wooden screen in the horse-shoe arch above the main entrance, the winged animals and sphinxes above the capitals of pillars (Plate VI *a*), the pyramid-shaped parapet carved on the façade (Plate VI *b*), the inward leaning of the jambs of doorways and columns of the hall, and the bell-shaped Persepolitan design of the capitals of pillars (Plate VII *a*). These temples vary in dimensions,

¹ For a detailed account of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, see *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta*, Archaeological Survey of Southern India, 1887.

and although the *chaitya* at Kārle is the most spacious,¹ and also the most imposing in regard to its architectural detail (Plate VII *b*), yet as its façade has lost many of its original features, a description of the *chaitya* at Beḍṣā will be more suitable for the present review because this latter temple is comparatively in a better state of preservation. The plan of this *chaitya* resembles in arrangement to a certain extent the plan of the early Christian churches, comprising the nave, the side-aisles, and the apse containing the *stūpa* or *dagoba*. The side-aisles join in a semi-circular passage behind the *dagoba*. The *chaitya* at Beḍṣā has an imposing portico in front of it, the pillars of which rise to a height of 25 ft. and are crowned with figures of animals. Some of these have human riders, the latter being carved with consummate skill. These figures are not only bold in conception but also most vivid in expression (Plate III *b*). The shafts of the pillars are octagonal in design, and they spring from pot-shaped bases and are surmounted with fluted bells which, according to Fergusson, are more Persepolitan in design than the capitals of pillars at any other place in India. The portico, which is in the form of a veranda, measures 30 ft. 2 in. in length and 12 ft. in width. The ceiling, owing to the height of the pillars and side-walls, is too high, but the rich carving attracts the eye at once and the idea of any incongruity does not rise even in the mind of the most discerning critic (Plate VIII *a*). The designs include religious architectural motifs, such as the rail and the *chaitya*-window with its lattice-work; but they are repeated so often, and are carved in such a skilful manner, that the whole looks like a goldsmith's work, and the love of the Deccan artist for richness of ornamentation is abundantly illustrated.

There are two cells at each end of the veranda towards the right and left, the first cell on the latter side being incomplete. They have stone benches, and the jambs of their doors slant slightly inwards, both features indicating the early age of the excavation. Above the lintels of the cell-doors there is first a floral lattice design, and above that the rood-screen pattern, such as is to be seen in original wood in the *chaitya*-windows of Koṇḍāṇe and Bhājā. Access to the interior of the *chaitya* is given by three doors, the middle one of which is larger in dimensions than the two in the sides. The gallery in the sill of the great window, above the main entrance, extends 3 ft. 7 in. into the cave, which, besides the two irregular pillars in front, has twenty-four octagonal shafts, 10 ft. 3 in. high, separating the nave from the side aisles. The entire dimensions of the *chaitya* are: length, 45 ft. 4 in., width, 20 ft. The pillars are plain in design and except for the few religious symbols carved on them, and the rail-pattern executed on the *dagoba*, there is a complete absence of ornamentation in the interior of the shrine, and this

¹ The general dimensions of the interior of this temple are 124 ft. 3 in. from the entrance to the back wall; 45 ft. 6 in. the combined width of the central hall and the side-aisles; and 45 ft. the height from the floor to the rock ceiling.

feature adds to its solemn dignity. The ceiling had originally wooden ribs but these have now completely disappeared. The *dagoba* is rather slim in proportions and differs in general appearance from the *dagobas* of Kārlē and Ajanta. Another feature of the carving of the cathedral is that it has no representation of the Buddha, such as is to be seen freely in the *chaityas* of later date—fourth–sixth centuries A.D. Caves XIX and XXVI of Ajanta are excellent examples of the *chaityas* of the late Buddhist period, because they belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. respectively. In these temples the use of wood for the rafters of ceilings, or for the lattice-work of the *chaitya*-window, is entirely discarded; the pillars of the hall rise perpendicularly and the pyramid-shaped parapet does not appear. The pillars are round and they have spiral fluting with bands of floral or jewellery designs arranged at different levels in their height. The figures of the Buddha seated on a throne, or standing, are carved in a variety of poses (*mudras*) in the triforium as well as on the back of the aisles. Representations of the Master may also be noticed in niches carved on the *dagoba* itself. Both the exteriors and interiors of these temples are profusely adorned with sculpture, and the calm and solemn effect of the earlier shrines is replaced by magnificence and splendour. The carving taken by itself is exquisite both in design and workmanship, but its excess in the architectural scheme of the temples wearies the eye and also tends to disturb that tranquillity of mind which one would wish to feel in the interior of a religious shrine (Plates VIII b–IX).

The third type of the early monuments of the Deccan is the *vihāra*, or the monastery evolved from a natural cavern wherein a holy personage dwelt and meditated. The *vihāras* of the pre-Christian period are not only plain but rather austere in design, comprising a middle room with cells arranged on three sides of it. The cells are of small dimensions, and they are connected with the main room by very narrow doors. In the cells benches are cut in the rock, and on one side of them the surface of the rock is kept a little raised to serve the purpose of a pillow for the head when the Buddhist monks slept on these benches. Cave XIII of Ajanta is a very good example of an early Buddhist *vihāra*. Its middle room is $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, and 7 ft. high. There are seven cells, which project from the main room, three of them being on the left side and two on each of the back and right sides. The monastic life permitted no ostentation, but the love of ornamentation being almost inherent in the people of the Deccan the *bhikshus* began to carve religious symbols, such as the *dagoba*, or the sacred balustrade, or the rood-screen, over the doors of their cells from the earliest times. The *vihāras* at Bhājā, Beḍṣā, Junnar, Nāsik, and Ajanta, which all belong to the second or first century B.C., are adorned with such emblems, but the ornamentation shows considerable restraint and there is no lavishness such as is to be noticed in the decoration of the façades of *chaityas* of the same period. As the popularity of the Buddhist faith increased the number of *bhikshus*, the

dimensions of the *vihāras* expanded quickly, and some early monasteries at Kondāṇe and Nāsik have large halls in their centres. At the latter place, caves III and VIII, both of which are monasteries, and according to the inscriptions which they bear belong to the pre-Christian period, have spacious halls, and also pillared verandas in front of them for protection against rain and sun. Cave No. III, which seems to be the earlier of the two, has a hall which is 41 ft. wide and 46 ft. deep. It has also a bench on three sides and seventeen cells; seven on the right side, five at the back, and five on the left. The sculpture and the form of the pillars of these two caves resemble those of the *chaitya*-cave at Kārle, and it will not be wrong to infer that all three belong to the same period.

Vihāras, which in the beginning were only monasteries through the religious zeal of the *bhikshus*, developed into temples by the inclusion of an image-chamber in the back of the *vihāra*. Although *dagobas* are carved in some of the earliest *vihāras*, yet the introduction of a shrine with an ante-chamber into the general plan of the *vihāra* seems to have come into vogue when the *Mahāyāna* doctrine permitted the representation of the Buddha in human form for purposes of adoration. At Ajanta, cave IV is perhaps the earliest *vihāra* on this plan, and it has a spacious hall 87 ft. square in the middle with an ante-chamber and a shrine at the back. The large dimensions of this cave, combined with the massiveness of its architectural features (Plate X a), with the frugal use of decorative work, present a faithful picture of Buddhist religious dignity, reflecting the practical restraint of the Buddhist monastic life on the one hand and the expansiveness of spiritual life on the other. The *vihāra* was probably excavated in the third century A.D. or still earlier,¹ but the work on the doorway and the windows may have been done at a later date. At this juncture it should be pointed out that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the first to the third A.D., some structural buildings also in the form of *stūpas*, *chaityas*, and *vihāras* were built in the Deccan. The *chaityas* at Ter, Kondāpur,² and Pāṇigiri³ belong to this period. They are built of large bricks, but the dimensions of these structures are so small that they can never have been examples of architectural grandeur, even when they were intact. The *chaitya* at Ter has undergone much alteration on account of its having been converted into a temple of another cult, and it is impossible to form any idea of the artistic merits of the original building

¹ This *vihāra* may have been built at the same time as the *chaitya*-cave X at Ajanta, for a temple of colossal size required a large monastery for the accommodation of monks. The ante-chamber and the shrine may have been added at a later date.

² Kondāpur is forty-three miles west-north-west of Hyderabad and the best way to approach it is to travel the first thirty-seven miles on the Bidar road and the remaining six by a fair-weather road which has been recently made motorable for the convenience of visitors by the Public Works Department of the Hyderabad State.

³ Pāṇigiri is a hillock in the Nalgonda district on which remains of *stūpas* were found in the course of excavations made by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad during the years 1942-3.

from present appearance. The *chaityas* of Kondāpur, which have been exposed to view in the course of excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad in 1941-2, are of insignificant dimensions, the western *chaitya* measuring 25 ft. 4 in. by 10 ft. 4 in. and the eastern 21 ft. 4 in. by 21 ft. These structures when compared with the grand rock-hewn *chaityas* of Kārlē, Bhājā, and Ajanta betray a lack of the lofty idealism and breadth of vision which are to be noticed in the latter *chaityas*.

Apart from structural buildings, the rock-hewn shrines of this period (first to third centuries A.D.) also show no creative effort, the same architectural forms and designs being repeated and the artistic effect being rather one of imitation than of originality. With the waning of the political ascendancy of the Āndhras the artistic impulse of the people of the Deccan seems to have deteriorated, and the passing of the sovereignty to the Vākātakas, who came from the north¹ and had matrimonial relations with the Guptas, ultimately proved most useful by breathing a fresh spirit of life into art in all its forms. Further, the rigorous asceticism of the *Hīnayāna* school had in course of time dimmed the original bright outlook on the joys of life, and the introduction of the *Mahāyāna* doctrine during the rule of the Vākātakas, fourth to fifth century A.D., saved the emotional aspect of the art of the Deccan from complete etiolation. The *vihāras* of Ajanta, belonging to this period, bear eloquent testimony to the joyous outlook which the votaries of the Buddhist faith had on the beauty of nature and the aims and ideals of life in general. Among these monasteries caves I-II and XVI-XVII deserve special notice; the last two bear contemporary inscriptions fixing their dates in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. Cave I is the largest of these four *vihāras*, comprising a porch, a veranda, a hall with corridors on all four sides, an ante-chamber, and a shrine in which a colossal figure of the Buddha is carved. There are also fourteen cells in the interior of this *vihāra* and two in the veranda, one at each end. The veranda is 64 ft. long, 9 ft. wide, and 12 ft. 6 in. high. A large door in the middle, with beautifully carved jambs and entablature, gives access to the great hall which is 64 ft. square, its ceiling being supported by a colonnade of twenty pillars, leaving aisles 9 ft. 6 in. wide all round. The ante-chamber, at the back of the hall, measures 10 ft. by 9 ft. and leads to the shrine through a richly carved door. The shrine is square in plan, measuring 20 ft. on each side.

The exterior view of this monastery has been somewhat marred by the destruction of the porch which was the prominent feature of it, but the several bands of carving on the architrave, representing scenes from the life of the Buddha, elephant-fights, and hunting expeditions, have been executed with consummate skill and show sculpture of a high order.

The pillars in the interior of this cave exhibit much ingenuity both in

¹ In *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Monograph No. 16, Ghatotkacha Inscriptions, V.V. Mirashi has tried to find their place of origin in the Eastern Deccan.

variety of form and picturesqueness of ornamental detail (Plate X *b*), and these features, combined with the general effect of spaciousness, produced by the large dimensions of the monastery, make it one of the finest *vihāras* of its kind in India. Cave II is almost a replica of cave I, but its hall is a little smaller than that of the latter, and its pillars also do not indicate such a fine sense of proportion as is shown by the columns of cave I. As regards the form of the pillars and the artistic effect of some of the component architectural parts, caves XVI and XVII are superior to cave I, but taken as a whole the latter cave excels them in the beauty of its design. These *vihāras*, caves I-II and XVI-XVII, are adorned with both sculpture and painting, the merits of which will be studied in their appropriate place in this chapter.

The plan of the *vihāra* developed a variety of forms during the period fourth to fifth centuries A.D., according to the aims and ideals and the numerical strength of the monastic orders, and notable types of these plans may be seen in the designs of caves V, XI, and XII of Ellora. They all belong to the Buddhist faith, and although after this religion ceased to exist as a living force in the land of its birth, these *vihāras* were nicknamed *Mahārṇvāḍa* or *Dhēḍvāḍa*, which name still sticks to them, they constitute one of the most imposing group of monasteries belonging to any faith in India. Among this group caves XI and XII, though called Do Thāl and Tin Thāl respectively, both consist of three stories and have a spacious court in front which is excavated out of the living rock (Plate XI). Cave V, called the Mahārṇvāḍa or the temple of the Mahārs, is 110 ft. deep and 70 ft. wide, if the recesses cut on either side of the aisles be included. The hall is rectangular in plan and is divided into three apartments by two low benches, which may have served as tables for dining purposes or have been used as reading-desks by the *bhikṣus*, for the cave has twenty cells for the accommodation of the monks and a fairly large number of them would have attended the services of the monastery. The plan of this cave resembles that of the Darbār Hall of Kaṇheri and some experts are of opinion that the *Mahārṇvāḍa* may have been originally a refectory, which may account for its plan (Plate XII).

The Do Thāl and the Tin Thāl, apart from their lofty and massive façades, exhibit a refined taste in the carving of their pillars, which are not crowded with patterns but have the lotus or pot design incised only in outline (Plate XIII *a*) in harmony with the simple dignity of a religious building. These two monasteries in their uppermost story are divided lengthwise into aisles at the ends of which are niches containing representations of the Buddha according to the *Mahāyāna* doctrine. The ante-chamber contains two tall *dvārapālas* with crossed arms and high crowns, and on the back wall three female deities are carved on each side of the door of the shrine. Inside the shrine beside the colossal figure of the Buddha there are statues of the Padmā-pāṇi, Vajrāpāṇi, and other Bodhisattvas, shown as attendants of the Master.

From the top floors of these two *vihāras* the view of the valley and the plains below is grand, and *bhikshus* sitting for meditation in these caves must have been inspired by the beauty of nature in its various aspects.

These two monasteries apparently belong to the seventh century A.D., because they are situated close to the *chaitya* styled the Viśvakarma, and this, apart from certain architectural features, bears an inscription which on palaeographic grounds has been assigned to the seventh century A.D. The revival of the Brāhmanic faith in the Deccan had begun during the rule of the Chālukyas, who built rock-hewn shrines of that faith at Bādāmi, the seat of their government; but they were tolerant to the followers of the Buddhist religion and the shrines of the latter faith continued to be built under their régime. During the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭas, who ousted the Chālukyas from the greater part of their kingdom in the Deccan, an aggressive religious spirit seems to have prevailed, for they not only converted Buddhist *vihāras* into the temples of their own faith,¹ but also built new shrines on such a grand scale as to eclipse in the eyes of their co-religionists the glory of the Buddhist religion. Religion is often associated with a certain amount of fanaticism, but at Ellora the religious fervour of the followers of the Brāhmanic faith has carved out in the living rock temples which might well have been considered to be the work of gods not only by the votaries of that religion but also by the most discerning critic of the period, because they are unique specimens of this kind of architecture in the world. Their gigantic dimensions, rich decorative detail, and perfect finish, are absolutely amazing. Kailāsa is the most remarkable of these temples; it is monolithic, isolated from the surrounding rock, and carved outside as well as inside. It stands in a large court, 276 ft. long and 154 ft. wide, with a scarp 107 ft. high at the back. In front of this court a curtain has been left, carved on the outside with large statues of Śiva and Viṣṇu, displaying ceaseless activity on the one hand and a sense of urgent vehemence on the other. The entrance to the temple is through a passage which has several apartments, and ultimately leads to the lower part of the court from the two sides of a vestibule arranged at its end. The lower court has the effigies of two life-size elephants carved at either side of the basement of the temple in order to give an air of majesty to the shrine. Two lofty *dhvajastambhas*, ensign staffs, each 45 ft. high, add further dignity to the temple (Plate XIII *b*). The basement of the temple is quite high and it is adorned with sculptures representing episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as figures of lions and elephants which are very spiritedly represented. The basement measures 164 ft. from east to west, and 109 ft. from north to south, but the temple, in spite of its large dimensions, is designed like a chariot resting on the backs of elephants. The

¹ Cave XV, called the *Dakṣiṇatāra*, was originally a Buddhist *vihāra*, and the images of the Buddha, although chiselled off with care from many a niche, may still be noticed in some places. This cave has a long inscription of Dantidurga carved over its entrance.

style is South Indian, developed from the style of the *rathas* of Māmallapuram, but here it appears in such a perfect form that there is nothing missing in the component parts of the temple—such as the portico, the *Nandi* pavilion, the *mandapa*, the shrine, the court with its surrounding galleries and the entrance—which are to be found in a structural temple of this style. According to an inscription it was built by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa, who succeeded Dantidurga in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.

The main temple has two staircases in front which lead to a porch. The ceiling of the porch has several layers of painting, the undermost being contemporary with the building of the temple. The main hall is 57 ft. wide and 55 ft. deep and the ceiling is supported by sixteen richly carved pillars, which are so arranged that two passages have been formed, one leading from the entrance to the shrine and another crossing the former in the middle of the hall and connecting it with the balconies built at either side of it towards the north and south. The form of the pillars and their decoration show good taste, and as the rock out of which they are hewn is close-grained the carving is extremely sharp, and the floor of the hall is so finely polished that it shines like a mirror.

A door in each of the back corners of the hall leads to the terrace behind. A wide path is arranged there round the outside of the shrine, which forms the base of the *vimāna* or spire. This tower rises to a height of 96 ft. from the court below and is richly carved. Below are compartments between pilasters, with delicately sculptured finials over each, and the middle of each compartment is occupied in most cases by a representation of Śiva or Vishṇu. On the wall above there are flying figures, and over them begin the horizontal mouldings of the *śikhara*. On the outer side of the terrace are five small shrines crowned by *śikharas*, which with the main spire in the middle give a picturesque effect to the general appearance of the temple.

Kailāsa has several adjuncts some of which may have been excavated at a later date. But the galleries running round the court are coeval with the central shrine, and their architectural effect when the visitor looks at the long rows of columns and the continuous series of sculptured panels from one end of them, is most fascinating (Plate XIV *a*). The eastern gallery is particularly striking; it is 189 ft. in length and has nineteen panels in its back wall adorned with figures of deities of more than human size. Fergusson has compared Kailāsa with the Śaiva temple of Paṭṭadakal, a comparison which may be valid in regard to the close resemblance between the structural features of the two temples, but the very fact that Kailāsa is hewn out of solid rock suggests an idea of solidity and everlastingness which, combined with the impression which it gives of patient industry and continuous devotion to the service of the gods, makes the temple rank in sublimity and grandeur with the great temples of Egypt, like those at Karnak and Edfu.

For vigour of style and boldness of design, the Dhumar Leṇa, cave XXIX

of Ellora, is also worthy of being described here, for it shows what giant strides the architects of the Deccan made under the patronage of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings. The plan of this temple (Plate XIV *b*) has a certain resemblance to that of the great shrine with the Trimūrti at Elephanta, but Dhumar Leṇa is larger in dimensions and finer in architectural effect than the latter cave. The interior of the Dhumar Leṇa measures 148 ft. by 149 ft. and the height of the rock ceiling from the floor is 17 ft. 8 in. From the steps facing the west the visitor first enters a corridor which is connected with the central passage of the shrine as well as with the corridors running on either side of the passage. The side corridors continue to the end of the excavation and form a kind of *pradakṣiṇa* round the shrine. The main passage is crossed in the middle by another which is planned to run from north to south and connects the middle part of the temple with its adjuncts in those directions. These adjuncts comprise a pair of corridors, the outer ones leading to the steps being smaller than those behind them. The plan of the temple, notwithstanding the long aisles into which its interior is divided, is star-shaped, that being the predominant form of the medieval temples of the Deccan. The pillars with their fluted cushion-shaped capitals are a little top-heavy, but owing to the height of the ceiling and the vast spaces of the corridors this blemish is not felt obtrusively, and the general architectural effect of the interior of the temple is one of grandeur and timelessness.

In the eighth century A.D., the period during which the Dhumar Leṇa was excavated, some structural buildings of considerable magnitude were erected in the Deccan, but before reviewing them the Jaina group of rock-hewn shrines at Ellora should also be mentioned because they throw much light on the aims and ideals of the builders who held that faith. In this group of shrines the most notable are the Indra Sabhā and the Jagannātha Sabhā, which in their plans and architectural features show a striking resemblance to the Brāhmanic temples of Ellora. But the various adjuncts of these temples have been so crowded together, and are so overloaded with unnecessary ornamental detail, that the eye is bewildered and fatigued by the complicated intricacy displayed. For instance, in the court of the Indra Sabhā, the *dhvajastambha* is not only close to the door of the temple but also so near the central pavilion of the court that the whole looks cramped and confined. This effect is further enhanced by the small dimensions of the court and the tiny size of the pillars of some of the chapels which overlook it. These characteristics betray a sad lack of sense of proportion in the general design of the temple, although the architectural detail taken separately exhibits considerable industry and skill. Art in such instances is degraded into artifice, because the creative effort is replaced by a soulless striving after effect.

In studying the structural monuments of the Deccan, it will be helpful to keep in view also the political history of the country. It has been observed

above¹ that the Āndhras were followed by the Vākātakas, who came from the provinces to the north of the Deccan and had matrimonial relations with the Guptas. During their rule of some two hundred years (A.D. 300-500) many architectural decorative features of North India were adopted in the Deccan. The next dynasty to rule there was that of the Chālukyas, who extended their kingdom both in the north and in the south and were often at war with the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the modern Conjeevaram. Their capital was first at Bādāmi (Vātāpipura), now a small town in the Bijāpur District. Apart from the rock-cut shrines which the Chālukyas built at Bādāmi in imitation of the Buddhist temples, they constructed several fanees of great magnitude in the suburbs of their capital, which may still be seen at Paṭṭadakal and Aihole. The Lokeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal bears inscriptions of the Chālukyan king Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-46), stating that this temple was built for his queen Lokamahādevī, in memory of his having thrice conquered the Pallavas of Kāñchī.² The temple bears a striking resemblance to the contemporary Rājasimheśvara temple of Kāñchī, and there is a copper-plate grant of the reign of Kīrtivarman II (A.D. 746-57) which mentions that his father (Vikramāditya II) was much impressed by the sculpture of the latter shrine and probably had it overlaid with gold.³ It is likely that the magnificence of the Rājasimheśvara temple induced Vikramāditya to take some of the master-builders of Kāñchī with him to his own capital at Bādāmi. This conjecture receives support from two inscriptions on the eastern gateway of the Lokeśvara, one of them clearly stating that the builder of the shrine was 'the most eminent *sutradhārī* of the southern country'.

At one time the Pallavas also invaded the territory of the Chālukyas and reduced the capital, Bādāmi. But this state of affairs did not last long, and the Chālukyas soon regained their supremacy in the Deccan. In the middle of the eighth century A.D. the Chālukyas were, however, routed by another dynasty, the Rāshtrakūṭas, and their western territory, the Karnataka-*deśa*, was permanently lost to them. At Paṭṭadakal there is an inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Dhruva, stating that he humbled the pride of the Pallavas also, who, it appears, had taken advantage of the disruption of the Chālukyan kingdom to extend their territories within the borders of its former dominions.

The Rāshtrakūṭas were evidently fascinated by the architecture of the temples built at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal by the masons of Kāñchī, because the great rock-hewn shrine of Kailāsa built at Ellora by Kṛishṇa I, in the middle of the eighth century A.D., is almost a copy of the Lokeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal. It is not unlikely that the king employed sculptors of South India in building the Kailāsa.

The later Chālukya kings as well as the Rāshtrakūṭas were favourably

¹ *Supra*, p. 729.

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, i, 146.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, x, 162.

inclined towards the Jaina religion, and there are inscriptions extant which show that both rock-hewn and structural temples of this faith were built under the patronage of the kings of these two dynasties. In A.D. 973 the Rāshtrakūṭas were ousted by Taila II, a scion of the Chālukya family, who established his government at Kalyāṇī. The descendants of Taila ruled from there until A.D. 1161, when the country was temporarily occupied by the Kalachuris, whose seat of government was first at Annigiri and was afterwards shifted to Kalyāṇī. The *lingayat* cult sprang up during the short reign of the Kalachuris, who, however, could not crush the Chālukyas, and they regained possession of the throne for some years during which time several kings of the dynasty ruled until A.D. 1189. But they had become so feeble that the southern part of their territory was occupied by the Hoysalas and the northern by the Yādavas of Devagiri. The Yādavas ruled from A.D. 1187 to 1310, when the country was overrun by Malik Kāfūr, a general of the Delhi Sultan, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī.

In this historical review, however brief, it is necessary to mention the Kākatīyas, who in the beginning were vassals of the Chālukyan kings of Kalyāṇī and when the latter were dispossessed by the Kalachuris, the Kākatīyas became independent and the dynasty gradually rose into power and ruled over a large part of the Deccan for nearly three centuries. The last important king of the dynasty was Pratāpa Rudra II, whose dominions extended as far as the Western Ghāṭs, and from the Godāvari to the Pālār river. Muḥammad bin Tughluq conquered Teḷiṅgāna during the reign of this king and sent Pratāpa a prisoner to Delhi, but eventually he was allowed to return to Warangal and to rule as a vassal of the Delhi kings. The Kākatīyas were fond of architecture, and as they had sprung from the Chālukyas and were also allied by marriage with the Cholas of South India, it is natural that their temples should show a happy blending of the styles of North India and South India in their construction.

For the reasons given above it becomes clear that from the close of the third century A.D. up to the beginning of the fourteenth, the Deccan, owing to its political conditions, was influenced in artistic matters by both North and South India. To demonstrate this influence in the domain of architecture the salient features of the temples built during this period are given below. The Lokeśvara or Virūpāksha temple of Paṭṭadakal, referred to several times above, is one of the oldest structural temples of the Deccan and has a striking resemblance to its earlier prototype, the Rājasimheśvara temple of Kāñchī. The type of architecture is pure Pallava evolved from the wooden *ratha* style, the earlier examples of which may be noticed in the rock-hewn shrines of Māmallapuram. The spire consists of a square pyramid, divided into distinct stories which decrease in dimensions as they rise one above the other and are ultimately crowned with a round tower. The storied or horizontal arrangement of the spire is a Pallava or South Indian

feature, while the North Indian spire has a perpendicular arrangement, the reduplication being obtained by vertical additions, clustering round the main structure of the spire. The architects of the Deccan in building their spires adopted a middle course; whilst retaining the storied arrangement of South India, they reduced the height of the stories but increased their number, and covered them with so great a profusion of ornamental detail that at first glance the storied arrangement itself is not apparent to the eye. Again, to make the spires resemble their prototypes in Northern India, the architects so manoeuvred the central panels, or niches on each story, as to form a more or less continuous vertical band, thus simulating the perpendicular arrangement of the North. The spire of the Mahādeva temple at Ittagi, in the Raichur District (Plate XV *a*), built in A.D. 1112, shows a middle course, but the spires of the temples of Ālampur, constructed about the same period (twelfth century A.D.), are so ingeniously overladen with decorative detail that they appear to be almost replicas of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvar, in Orissa (Plate XV *b*).

The internal plans of the temples of the Deccan comprise a shrine room, which generally faces the east with an ante-chamber in front of it, and a pillared hall adjoining the latter. The pillared halls of the temples in the south-western parts of the Deccan are generally screened and have windows of pleasing design for the admission of air and light (Plate XVI *a*). The halls of the northern and eastern parts of the Deccan are open, in imitation of the temple-halls of Northern India. As the majority of the shrines of the Deccan are dedicated to Śaivite worship, the plan of the building includes a separate hall or a projection in the main building itself, for the accommodation of the sacred bull, *Nandi*, the vehicle of Śiva. Further, the temples of the North and East Deccan have porches on three sides of the building which give the plan a star-shaped appearance, this being a special feature of Deccanese shrines. The ceiling of the interior of the building is generally flat, being divided into compartments by beams resting on the capitals of pillars supporting the roof. These compartments are square in plan, and where the space occupied by them is large, the architects have inserted triangular slabs at the angles of the squares for the greater safety of the building. This device has a pleasing effect because it removes the flatness of the ceiling which otherwise would have been apparent. The plan of the ceiling in some compartments is sixteen-sided, a device which has been carried out by the insertion of triangular pieces at the angles. The artistic effect of this plan is further enhanced by the rich carving of the masonry (Plate XVI *b*).

The ceiling of the central apartment of the hall is often dome-shaped, but it is not built of voussoirs with radiating joints. On the contrary it is constructed of ring upon ring of stones laid with horizontal or level bedding, each ascending ring being smaller than the lower, and closing in towards the top, which is covered by a single circular slab. These rings are held in position

by the immense weight of roofing material above them pressing down upon the supporting walls of the dome all round. The inside of the vault is carved into ascending concentric circles, each circle being beautifully cusped with a graceful pendant hanging from the apex, or with a rosette or some other pleasing design carved thereon.

The pillars of the Deccan temples show a large variety of designs, and in workmanship and artistic effect they far surpass the pillars of the temples elsewhere in both North and South India, the exceptional skill and refined taste of the sculptors of the Deccan being largely due to their continuous practice of, and long tradition in, stone-carving, stretching back for many centuries, as is proved by the existence of the early rock-hewn shrines in this region. The stone used for pillars is dolerite, which runs in trap-dykes like a backbone across the granite hills, and has a jet-black or greenish hue. The early men of the Deccan used it for their implements, and their heavy hand-axes, chisels, and other chipped or polished tools are all made of this stone. It is close-grained and takes a beautiful polish. Some authorities are of opinion that the pillars were actually turned on a lathe in order to secure this polished surface. This may be true, but the pillars of the main hall of the rock-hewn shrine, Kailāsa, which shine like a mirror, cannot have been turned on a lathe, the temple being monolithic. The fact is that the craftsmen of the Deccan had acquired consummate skill both in carving and in polishing stone from the early centuries of the Christian era onwards. The sculpture on some pillars is so sharp and crisp that it might have been finished only yesterday. The facets, the floral designs, and the religious motifs are all deeply cut; the human figures stand out from the main surface of the stone, while some floral designs have an almost fringe-like effect, being connected with the shaft only at one end, with the major part of the carving almost detached (Plates XVII-XVIII). For deep-cut carving the temple of Ittagi is perhaps unique, but in polish the pillars of some of the temples in Teliāgāna, notably those at Pālampet and Pillalmari, are superior to those of the Karnatak shrines.

The architraves, door-frames, and friezes above them are also richly carved, and they all illustrate the immense devotion and masterly skill of the architects in building and adorning the abodes of their gods. The walls are built of large slabs of masonry and they have a double shell, the core being hollow in the middle. This method of building is exposed to view where the outer shell of the wall has been destroyed by climatic or other causes. As the foundations of the walls have not been laid deeply enough, sinkage has occurred freely, causing the ruin of many temples. Even those which have survived have broken lintels, cracked walls, and out-of-plumb columns, this unfortunate state of affairs being entirely due to the insecure nature of the foundations.

The temples of the northern parts of the Deccan have lofty stylobates,

like those of the contemporary temples of North India, but the fanes of the Karnataka-*deśa* have basements of moderate height, intended to keep the floor immune from the damp of the surrounding ground during the rainy season. The cornices (*chhajjas*) are deep and curved like those of the South Indian temples, and in some shrines they have figure-brackets for their support. The brackets of the great temple of Pālampet in the Warangal District represent dancing-girls in significant poses, showing both rich imagination and skilful workmanship. The cornices are sometimes ribbed and divided into panels in imitation of the cornices of a wooden *ratha*.¹

To illustrate the above remarks, which are more or less general, a description of a few important temples in the Deccan, with plans and photographs, is given below. To begin with the temples of the South-West Deccan, the Mahādeva temple of Ittagi may be noticed first, because it is considered to be the finest temple of its kind in that part of the country. It is situated some three miles to the south of Banikop station on the M.S.M. Railway, between Bellary and Gadag. The village was until recently included in Nawāb Sālār Jung's *jagīr* in the Raichur District of the Hyderabad State. The plan of the temple comprises a shrine with an ante-chamber, a closed hall with porches on either side of it towards the north and south, and a pillared hall which is open at the sides. The temple faces the rising sun, and the great open hall at the east end was originally supported upon sixty-eight pillars. Twenty-six of these are large ones, standing on the floor and forming the main support of the roof: the rest, which were shorter, stood on the stone bench surrounding the hall, and carried the sloping eaves. The large columns are of different designs, but are arranged symmetrically with regard to the shape and pattern of each. The four central ones have angular carving arranged vertically both in the shafts and capitals; the design, although very rich (Plate XVIII *a*), seems quite in harmony with the elaborate pattern of the other architectural parts of the building. For instance, the slabs of the ceiling of the middle apartment of the hall have been carved into a rich arrangement of hanging arabesque foliage, and *makaras*² which spring from the jaws of a *kirtimukha* mask.³ The convolutions of the design with their circling excrescences and bewildering whorls form a most luxuriant pattern. The inner hall, which is closed, measures 27 feet on each side, and beside the entrance from the outer hall has also doorways towards the north and the south which are richly adorned with sculpture. The exterior of the temple has deteriorated considerably and the carved masonry of the outer casing of the walls has been carried away by the villagers for use as building material for their own houses. The top of the *sikhara* is also

¹ A canopied chariot used for taking the gods round the streets on the occasion of a religious festival. They are profusely carved and may be seen to this day in all towns, and also in certain villages, of Southern India.

² *Makaras*, dragon-shaped flowing motifs.

³ *Kirtimukha*, a conventional lion's head.

missing, and the spire as it now stands is divided into three stories which are quite distinct and not so cut up and masked by decorative detail as in the temples at Ālampur.¹ The little cusped niches, which decorate the centre of each story, rising one above the other, are exceedingly handsome, and the deep canopy of the roll moulding, which is pointed with little hanging buds, is designed in very graceful curves. Their delicate lace-like workmanship is further enhanced by the background of the rich, dark shadows of the niches.

These beautiful wreaths of filigree are repeated as ornament in the recessed panels of the walls below, and in two cases, one on either side of the shrine, serve as window-frames, the spaces between the rolls forming the lights. The three principal niches on the shrine walls, boldly accentuated by their deep projecting cornices, are now empty, their images having disappeared. Through the neglect of centuries the temple had fallen into a sad state of disrepair, but soon after the establishment of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad it was thoroughly repaired by means of a liberal grant made by the State's Government, although the temple, as was stated above, was situated in the *jāgīr* of Nawāb Sālār Jung Bahādur.

According to the inscription carved on a slab the temple was built by Mahādeva, a high military officer, *Danḍanāyaka*, of the Eastern Chālukyan king, Vikramāditya VI, in the *Śaka* year 1034 (A.D. 1112). In the inscription the temple is styled *devālaya chakravartī*, 'a very emperor among temples', a title which it amply deserves in view of the magnificence of its architectural style and its luxuriant decorative detail.

In passing from Ittagi to Ālampur, a town situated in the same district, that is Raichur,² but some 150 miles to the north-east of the former place, one notices a marked change in the shape of the spire, which is more akin to the towers of the temples in Orissa than to those in South India. There are several shrines at Ālampur and their *śikhara*s have a curvilinear form outwardly, the storied arrangement having been concealed by a profusion of miniature architectural devices, such as pillars, niches, windows, and *āmalakas*,³ which have been arranged one above the other vertically (Plate XV *b*). The halls of these temples are closed, and in their plans they resemble the rock-cut shrines of the Deccan, with a central passage, a nave, and aisles on either side of it. The shrine is built in the form of a square chamber at the end of the central passage and the two aisles extend round the shrine and serve the purpose of a *pradakṣiṇā* for the votaries (Plate XIX *a*). The designs of the pillars of the hall and the figures of the *apsaras* carved on the exterior of the temple further show the influence of the rock-hewn architecture of the Deccan (Plate XIX *b*). The general style of these temples is

¹ *Supra*, p. 736.

² Ālampur is the headquarters of a *tāluk* and may be approached from Hyderabad or Kurnool. It is situated on the metre-gauge line of the N.S. Railway, between Secunderabad and Dronachalam.

³ *Āmalaka*, a fluted capital.

very pleasing, and except for the elaborate detail of the carving of the *śikhara* the architectural features exhibit a refined taste. The temples at Ālampur, according to the inscriptions carved on them, were built during the twelfth century A.D.

Almost contemporary with the temples of Ālampur are the shrines at Anwa and Aundha in the Northern Deccan, both situated on the bank of an old stream which had its source in the Ajanta Hills¹ not far above Anwa and joined the Godāvarī somewhere near Jalna.² Both the temples are very typical of their respective styles. The temple at Anwa has a lofty plinth, and its stylobate, the arrangement of its short pillars, and the circular design of the roof, are very artistic. The vault of the roof is 21 ft. in diameter, and is supported on twelve richly carved pillars with eight smaller ones interspersed. It is horizontal in construction as well as in ornamentation, and the general effect is quite elegant, although the vault has no pendant in the middle such as is generally found in such domes. The temple had much decayed and was overgrown with trees which had been the main cause of the ruin of the building, but the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad has since its establishment thoroughly repaired the building and saved it from further deterioration.

The temple at Aundha is much larger in dimensions than its rival at Anwa, but the spire of the former is modern, having been built after the original spire had completely disappeared. The basement of the building and the walls up to roof level are original, and they are built of large blocks of masonry richly carved. The temple itself has a plinth 5 ft. 6 in. high, and its entire length from the west portico to the back of the shrine is 126 ft., while the breadth from the north portico to the southern one is 118 ft. The inner plan consists of the icon-room and a hall with porticoes in three directions, as a result of which arrangement the interior has a star-like shape. This form has been further accentuated by the angular projections in the exterior of the building, and the whole has a very artistic effect (Plate XX). The temple at Aundha bears a close resemblance, in both structural and decorative features, to the famous shrine at Halebid (Plate XXI), regarding the architectural beauty of which Fergusson has observed as follows:

It must not, however, be considered that it is only for patient industry that this building is remarkable. The mode in which the eastern face is broken up by the larger masses, so as to give height and play of light and shade, is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects attempted by transepts and projections. This, however, is surpassed by the western front, where the variety of outline, and the arrangement and subordination of the various facets in which it is disposed, must be considered as a masterpiece of design in its class. If the frieze of gods were

¹ The other towns situated on the stream are Assaye and Jā'farābād. Jā'farābād must have also an early Hindu name, because it abounds in ancient remains of the pre-Muslim period.

² Anwa may be approached both from Golegāon, a village on the Aurangābād-Ajanta road, and from Bhokardan, a *vāṭak* town in the Aurangābād District.

spread along a plain surface, it would lose more than half its effect, while the vertical angles, without interfering with the continuity of the frieze, give height and strength to the whole composition. The disposition of the horizontal line of the lower friezes is equally effective. Here again the artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines and the play of outline and of light and shade, far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what the medieval architects in Europe were aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done in the Deccan.¹

There are several bronze images in the shrine, but the chief icon, which has given so much importance to the temple, is a *jyotirlinga*, *jyotis*, light regarded as the supreme spirit. It is one of the twelve *lingas* of its kind scattered in various parts of India and held in great reverence by the votaries of the Śaivite cult.

The temples both at Anwa and Aundha in regard to their high plinths, the arrangement of their short pillars, and the style of their basement mouldings, are reminiscent of the temples in North Gujarat and Central India, notably the *Teli-ka Mandir* at Gwalior and the Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho, Chhatarpur State.

The temples in the eastern part of the Deccan are as numerous as are those in the south or the north, but they possess certain features which place them in contrast with their rivals in the latter two parts of the plateau. For instance, the ceilings of the central apartments of their halls are not circular; they are eight-sided or sixteen-sided, the latter shapes being secured by placing triangular pieces at the angles of the main design. The spires do not have the curvilinear form of the north noticed in the temples at Ālampur; nor do they have the pyramidal or the bombe shape of the *gopurams* of the south. They rise perpendicularly in a tapering form in which the vertical arrangement remains prominent, and there is no clustering of decorative detail to conceal the original design or to tire the eye. The plinths are high, but the effect of precipitousness has been judiciously avoided by building platforms midway in the height of the basement, and this arrangement has on the one hand given strength to the entire structure by serving as a sort of girdle or buttress, and on the other has provided a *pradakshina* on which the votaries could walk round the temple and enjoy the beautiful sculpture of the exterior of the shrine.

The most important of these temples, like those at Hanamkonda, or Pālampet, or even the incomplete one in the Warangal Fort, show a vigorous style of architecture in which breadth of vision and loftiness of religious ideals are amply demonstrated. To illustrate this view a description of the Great Temple at Pālampet may be given. The main building of this temple has porches towards the north, the south, and the east, but the principal entrance faces the east, for in the same direction a hall is built on a platform

¹ J. Fergusson and Burgess, *History of Indian Architecture*, i, 448.

which rises 6 ft. 4 in. above the ground, and its plinth is divided into bands and grooves occurring alternately, the motif being taken from the rocky banks of a river the sides of which are worn away in a similar style by the continuous action of the waves. The platform affords a space 10 ft. wide all round the temple, forming a sort of promenade for devout pilgrims whence they may gaze on the long rows of figures which adorn the exterior of the building. These figures are of a heterogeneous character, comprising gods, goddesses, warriors, acrobats, musicians, dancing-girls, and *maithuna* pairs in indecent attitudes.

A striking peculiarity of this building is formed by the figure-brackets, which spring from the shoulders of the outer pillars of the temple and nominally support the *ekhajja* slabs. They are mere ornaments and represent the intermediate stage between their earlier analogues at Sāñchī and the later examples at Vijayanagar. Twelve of them represent dancing-girls in different poses, the carving showing considerable artistic merit both in conception and in execution.

The walls of the sanctuary are decorated outwardly with pilasters and niches, the latter being crowned with miniature spires, copies of the main spire of the temple.

To enter the temple from any of the three porches the visitor has to ascend several steps, as the floor of the building is 5 ft. higher than the platform on which it stands. The arrangement of the interior can best be understood with the help of the plan (Plate XXII). The main hall measures 41 ft. each way, and has a square apartment enclosed by four pillars in the middle—the place where musicians and singers recited the sacred hymns. The carving of the pillars is most elegant and it represents scenes from the *Purāṇas*. The idyllic scene of Kṛishṇa surrounded by a troop of amorous girls (*gopīs*), whom the mischievous god deprived of their garments while they were bathing in a tank, is carved on a pillar of the central apartment. A platform about 3 ft. 6 in. high is built round the hall and on it are eight beautifully constructed niches which originally must have accommodated the images of the presiding deities of the temple. The front of the antechamber and the entrance of the shrine are richly carved, and the main icon in the interior of the latter is a *linga*, the emblem of cosmic energy. The general architectural effect of the temple is grand, and shows the high ideals and consummate skill of the builders.

A sad defect of these temples is that they are not provided with adequate foundations, and as they were built of large blocks of masonry sinkage has occurred in the majority of cases, so that cracked walls, broken lintels, and out-of-plumb walls are features which frequently obtrude themselves on one's notice.

The temple at Pālampet has an inscription dated A.D. 1213, which records the building of the temple by one Recherla Rudra, a general in the service

of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. This king built the great tank at Pākhal and also the magnificent temple in the Warangal fort, some features of which have recently been exposed to view by the excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad. The temple was built of large blocks of neatly chiselled masonry, and the fondness of the Kākatiya architects for using large slabs may be judged from the floor of the central apartment of the temple, which consists of a single stone 2 ft. thick measuring 16 ft. on each side. Further, the floor is beautifully polished and shines like a mirror. Another interesting feature of this temple is the four gateways which face the four cardinal points of the compass and in their design are reminiscent of the *toranas* of the Great Stūpa of Sāñchī, one gateway, at least, of which was built by the masons of the Deccan.¹ It appears that the tradition of building gateways in this style continued in the Deccan down to the thirteenth century A.D.

The architecture of the Deccan, as represented by its structural temples built from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries A.D., is conventional to a degree, and also betrays a lack of spontaneity, but none can deny its magnificence, nor can anyone ignore the rich imagination, patient industry, and skilful workmanship of the builders of these temples.

¹ According to an inscription the Southern Gateway of the Sāñchī Stūpa was built by the sculptors of the Āndhra king, Śrī-Satkarni, whose reign has been dated by scholars in the first half of the second century B.C.

III

SCULPTURE

WE pass on to the history of Deccanese sculpture. There exist both in the eastern and western parts of the territory, which was once under the sway of the Āndhras, specimens of a well-developed art dating back to the second century B.C. Its virility, its plastic beauty, its high intellectual qualities, and its skilful technique must have taken a couple of millennia to reach that standard. As evidence for this view a few specimens from the sculpture of the *chaityas* at Konḍāne, Bhājā, Beḍsā, and Kārle, situated in the western parts of the Andhra kingdom, and Amarāvati in the eastern territory, may be described. The *chaitya* at Konḍāne has a highly ornamented façade the design of which is essentially wooden in form and derivation (Plate II a). The projecting balconies supported by curvilinear brackets and the windows filled with lattice-work, although carved in stone, are absolutely wooden in form, and they accord well with the real woodwork of the main arch, fragments of which are still *in situ*. In the third row of balconies, carved along the springing points of the central arch, there are panels containing dancing figures. Of these panels there are four on each side of the arch, and those on the left side are comparatively in a better state of preservation.¹ In the latter series the first panel contains three figures, a cavalier armed with a large bow being in the middle, and two dancing girls, one on each side of him. The girls have poised themselves to dance with their gay companion, apparently by turns, for in the first panel the girl on the right holds the fringe of the cavalier's girdle in a loving manner while he is amorously stretching out his left arm to touch her chin. The body lines of both male and female figures show a rhythm suggestive of movement, while the vitality of the man and the happy serenity expressed by the girl make them seem almost living. The girl on the left has also poised herself and taken a short step with a view to joining her partner in the dance when her turn shall come. The second and third panels show the cavalier engaged in dancing with each of his two partners in succession. The attitudes of the dancers are pleasing, displaying a mood of amorous dalliance through the swing of the body and other gestures. In the fourth panel the cavalier stands by himself with a smile on his lips, and is inclining his body in a graceful gesture as if to acknowledge the applause which has been showered upon him by the spectators for his successful performance. Apart from the dramatic effect,

¹ Photographs of these panels were taken at the author's request by Mr. Q. M. Moneer, in 1941-42, the then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, and they are studied and published for the first time in this book.

there is so much grace and beauty in the carving of these four panels that their art in its intellectual qualities and technical skill must have needed the practice and cultural development of many centuries before it could reach such perfection of craftsmanship (Plates IV-V).

In this cave there is an inscription in Brahmi characters of the second century B.C., if not of an earlier period. The inscription records the name of one Balaka, the pupil of Kanha (or Kṛishṇā), who made the cave. The record is carved near the head of a statue which probably represents Balaka (Plate XXIII). The statue has been much knocked about and nothing now survives except a part of the head. This head is covered with an embroidered scarf, which is tied near the forehead with a band of the same design. The figure probably had long hair which was gathered above the head, as is shown by protuberance in its upper part.

In the centuries preceding the Christian era dancing was a popular art, as indeed it remained also afterwards, being encouraged and fostered by the rituals of the Buddhist and Brāhmanic faiths. The sculptor has therefore included dancing pairs in the decorative schemes of the exteriors of the early *chaityas*. In the interior Buddhist religious convention did not, perhaps, permit him to exhibit his skill in the representation of the lighter and more frivolous aspects of human life. In the *chaitya* at Kārle also there are some panels containing dance scenes. The stone being not close grained, the figures are a little rough in finish, but the joyous carefree attitude and the rhythm of movement are marvellous, and exhibit a highly developed art. The features as well as the dress, which is, however, extremely scanty, show the dancers to be inhabitants of the Deccan, and the art is thus indigenous (Plate XXIV a-b). In their head-gear and ornaments the dancers show a certain resemblance to the people represented in the carvings at Sāñchī and Bharhut, but they have no rigidity such as is generally to be noticed in the statuary of the latter two places; on the contrary the movement and lifelike effect of the dancers of Kārle exhibit a much more fully developed art.

The row of columns crowned by figures of elephant-riders is another feature of the art of the sculptor in this cave (Plate XXV a-b). The rampant elephants with their little twinkling eyes and gracefully carved trunks exhibit the ingenuity of the artist in the choice of pose and the enlivening of expression, while the riders, who are generally in pairs and have a gay and debonair appearance, show that according to the sculptor's ideals human life cannot be complete without the enjoyment of its pleasures.

The *chaitya* at Kārle has several inscriptions covering a period of fifty or more years, during which the ornamentation of the cave with carving must have been going on continuously. The earliest, however, mentions the name of some Sātavāhana kings who ruled in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, and the sculpture of this cave is not much later in date than its analogue at Konḍāne, described above. Almost coeval with, or

slightly earlier in date than, the pillars of the Kārle *chaitya* are the columns of the veranda of the Buddhist rock-cut temple at Beḍṣā,¹ but they are much larger in dimensions than their prototypes at Kārle, and the figures of animals and their riders carved on the abaci are not only colossal in size but most spirited in artistic effect. The main shafts of the columns are octagonal in design, being 3 ft. 4 in. in girth and 23 ft. in height. They taper slightly as they rise from pot-shaped bases, and are crowned by ogee capitals of Persepolitan type, grooved vertically. Upon the capitals are fluted tori enclosed in a square frame over which lie four thin tiles, each projecting above the one below (Plate VII *a*). At the top, immediately below the entablature, are carved rampant elephants, horses, bullocks, and mythical animals, with male and female human riders perched on them. The second column from the left has two horses with their heads and bodies facing in opposite directions. On one of them a *rājā* or *yaksha* is riding and on the other his consort. The figures of horses carved in the early Buddhist monuments are generally crude in form, but here they are very realistic, and their glistening eyes, up-raised ears and manes, and almost quivering nostrils and parted lips show their sprightly character and impatient nature under their riders, who have apparently placed their hands on the animals' heads in order to quiet them. The human figures have also been carved with considerable realistic effect; the pair appear as if in a love-making mood, the *yaksha* holding one of the tresses of his mistress while she has thrown one of her arms round his back. Romantic affection is shown in the countenances of both, and the same feeling is expressed by the inclination of their heads and the general disposition of their bodies (Plate III *b*). The sculpture in consideration of its large size and artistic effect may be compared favourably with the best in the world. The *chaitya* cave at Beḍṣā also has an inscription which on palaeographic grounds has been assigned by epigraphists to the second or first century B.C., but the art represented by the sculpture of the cave is so advanced that to attain that standard must have required the intellectual and technical progress of hundreds of years.

In describing the sculpture of the eastern zone of the Deccan it should be observed that the country near the deltas of the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā was the cradle of Āndhra art and culture from the earliest times, and some of the antiquities of the town of Amarāvati, ancient Dharanikota (16° 35' N., 80° 24' E.), date back to the second century B.C. There are other old towns, like Jagayyapet, Bhattiprolu, and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, all situated at short distances from one another, which were important centres of the Buddhist religion from about the third century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. As the

¹ Beḍṣā (Poona District) is approached by a cart track beginning at the twenty-eighth milestone of the Poona-Bombay road. In 1941, immediately after his tour of investigation in Western India, the writer approached the Government of Bombay with a request that they should build a motor road to make access easy to the Buddhist monuments of this place.

sculpture of Amarāvati is the most typical of Āndhra art, it will be sufficient to study it in preference to that of other places in the neighbourhood. The *stūpa* of Amarāvati, described already (*supra*, pp. 724-5), exists no longer, but its sculpture, which is housed safely in India at the Madras Museum and in England at the British Museum, has been praised in unstinted terms by competent authorities for its beauty and workmanship. Fergusson's opinion that the sculptures of Amarāvati mark 'the culmination of Indian art', however, was not accepted by Vincent Smith, but he has agreed with Havell in stating that the marbles of Amarāvati present 'delightful studies of animal life, combined with extremely beautiful conventionalized ornament', and that 'the most varied and difficult movements of the human figures are drawn and modelled with great freedom and skill'.¹ Further, both Fergusson and Vincent Smith have pointed out a strong Hellenistic influence in the development of the style, but Havell has rightly observed that except for a few borrowed details and motifs to be seen here and there, it is essentially Indian both in artistic expression and in technique and that there is nothing foreign in the general style. Havell did not apparently see the sculptures of Koṇḍāne, Beḍṣā, and Kārle, studied above (*supra*, pp. 744-6), otherwise instead of observing that the style of Amarāvati showed 'developments of the Bharhut and Sāñchi school' he would have remarked that the style was Deccanese in origin and evolved from the earlier phase of Andhra art.² The delight of the sculptor in the mobility of his figures, his anxiety to convey the idea of volume, his love of ornamentation in the execution of even minor detail, and above all his joyous outlook upon life are characteristics which are to be noticed frequently in the early sculpture of the Deccan and which found fuller expression at Amarāvati partly through the religious stories of the Buddhist faith, and partly through the zeal, devotion, and rich imagination of its votaries during a period of 300 years—first century B.C. to second century A.D.

The sculptures of Amarāvati for the purpose of study may be divided into four main classes. First the animal frieze carved on the plinth of the railing, second the medallions and circular disks of the upright posts, third the wavy scrolls carved on the coping, and fourth the bas-reliefs of the *stūpa* itself. The *stūpa* according to some inscriptions was built in the second century B.C., but it was extended, adorned, and encased with fresh bas-reliefs during the following four or five centuries, and the greatest decorative schemes were carried out during the period A.D. 150-250. Taking the earliest sculptures first, there are some fragments of the original plinth of the railing, which represent a frieze containing mythical animals interspersed with human figures. The human figures are shown as herdsmen, holding the animals by their tails or ears, and exhibiting considerable energy in controlling

¹ V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art*, p. 155.

² E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 102.

them. The subject closely resembles in design the painted frieze in cave IX of Ajanta,¹ and the carved band in cave VI at Kuda.² The latter two subjects belong to the first or second century B.C., and the frieze of Amarāvati may be assigned to the same period. The figure of the winged beast resembling a lion seems to have been copied from an Assyrian prototype, and it was on the basis of such similarities in a few motifs that Vincent Smith and Fergusson sought to prove the influence of Western Asiatic countries on the art of Amarāvati. Indian art at this period, however, was more highly developed than the art of any other country in Asia, and the assimilation of a few foreign motifs through the early conversions of *Pahlavas* and *Sakas* to Buddhism could not have vitally affected the originality of the Indian artists either in spirit or technique. In Plate XXVI *a* the herdsman in his dress, features, and pose is Indian through and through, and winged animals have been introduced either as a curiosity or to show the extraordinary ability of the herdsman to keep under control even fabulous monsters. The lotus creeper design carved in the form of a band above the central subject (Plate XXVI *b*) is again purely Indian, as regards both its intricate arrangement and its skilful workmanship.

Lotus designs occupying the circular or semi-circular panels of the upright posts of the railing (Plate XXVII *a*) exhibit greater dexterity and a more developed and refined art, which ultimately influenced the Gupta sculpture of Central and Northern India and also the sculpture of the Deccan, as is to be seen at Ajanta (Plate XXVII *b*). The delicacy and crispness of these carvings can be best appreciated with the help of a magnifying glass, for the naked eye may fail to perceive the subtle intricacies of their designs. Besides the lotus motif which occupies the prominent place, there are creeper designs of a charming pattern in which human and animal figures are most artistically arranged (Plate XXVIII *a*). The animals are generally mythical in form, and the human figures are dwarfs (*ganās*) whose quaint poses evoke smiles. According to the inscriptions carved on some of these posts the sculptures appear to belong to the first or the second century A.D.

A large number of posts have *jātaka* stories carved on them, the sculptures being arranged in circular panels or in rectangular or other shaped compartments, such as could be fitted in on the facets of the posts. The carving of these subjects in regard to drawing and modelling, and the general arrangement of the figures, resembles so closely the technique of Ajanta paintings that the arts of these places seem to be closely allied. It was apparently on account of this resemblance that Fergusson regarded the majority of the sculptures of Amarāvati as belonging to the third or the fourth century A.D.

¹ G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. iii (text), pp. 22-23.

² Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, Plate vii *a*. At Nāsik it is carved in a slightly modified form on the outer wall of cave III, above the pillars. See also Burgess, *Report on Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, 1876-79, pp. 23-24 and Plate viii (9).

This view is confirmed by Vincent Smith¹ and also in a general way by Codrington, who writes, 'The sculptures of Amarāvati as a whole are nearer to those of the Gupta age than to Sāñchī and Bharhut'.² The deciphering of contemporary inscriptions and a close study of the technical features of the sculptures in recent times, however, have now made it possible to fix their date with some certainty.

In Plate III *a*, which is from the fragment of a post, the subject represented is apparently the scene from the *Campeya jātaka* in which the Bodhisattva, who was born as the Serpent King, came out of the osier basket in which a Brāhman had placed him, and surprised King Uggasena of Benares by his performance.³ The *jātaka* is also reproduced in a painting at Ajanta, in the back corridor of cave I.⁴ The astonishment of the rājā is shown by the characteristic gesture of his right hand. The faces of the ladies of the court also suggest the same feeling. The poses of the ladies in this subject show a striking resemblance to those of the wall-paintings of Ajanta, and a comparative study of the sculptures of Amarāvati and the paintings of the former place reveals the fact that the art of Ajanta is essentially Āndhra, both in feeling and technique, so that the opinion expressed by previous writers who call it Gupta is not justifiable; on the contrary the development which took place at Amarāvati paved the way for the appearance of that phase of North Indian art which is associated with the Guptas.

In this subject the way in which the rānī has stretched out her right arm and placed her hand on the seat shows identically the same gesture as is to be noticed in a wall-painting in cave I,⁵ which was executed three centuries later (fifth century), the tradition of Āndhra art continuing during the intervening period. The features of the Brāhman and his special style of kneeling may also be noticed in several subjects at Ajanta, and these similarities might lead one to assign a date for this sculpture not far removed from the paintings of Ajanta; but the heavy anklets worn by the ladies, the head-gear of the rājā, and the striped design of the foot-rests of the rājā and the rānī all suggest an early date, and the sculpture could not indeed have been executed at a later period than the second century A.D.⁶

Another typical subject (Plate XXVIII *b*) is a group representing a horse with a prince attended by two ladies. There is also another figure who is holding the horse. He may be the groom. The prince may be Siddhārtha, or some other royal personage, engaged in conversation with the ladies. The topic is apparently a religious one, for the gesture made by the prince with his right hand is undoubtedly conventional. The pose of the prince as well

¹ Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art*, p. 154.

² K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 36.

³ Cowell, *Jātaka* (English transls.), iv, 281-90.

⁴ G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pl. xxv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. xxvii.

⁶ Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, ii, pl. 109, appears to be correct in assigning this sculpture to the first half of the second century A.D.

as that of the ladies is natural, showing both ease and grace, although the legs of the ladies may appear to be unduly slender. Heavy anklets were in fashion during the early centuries of the Christian era and even during the centuries immediately preceding these, and the use of such ornaments would have both lengthened and attenuated the shins as the necks of Shan girls are lengthened and made slender by the use of heavy metal collars even today. The marble slab on which the subject is carved is much abraded, hence the beauty of the carving cannot be appreciated properly. At the foot of this subject is a band representing seven seated Buddhas in the *Abhaya* or Assurance attitude.¹ The figure of the Buddha in a religious form was evolved by the Mathura sculptors some time about the second century A.D. They had modelled it on certain representations of the Bodhisattva of the Gandhāra School, which apparently found their way to Mathura under the Kushān kings. But the final stereotyped form of his features generally accepted was evolved by the artists of Amarāvati, and it was from the latter place that through the teachings of the Mahāyāna doctrine the conventional figure of the Great Being was copied in all parts of India, wherever the Buddhist religion was in vogue.² At Amarāvati the figure of the Sublime One was being carved from about the second century A.D., and in these circumstances the main panel of the sculpture described above, because of its special features, cannot be the work of a later period.

The multiplication of *dramatis personae* resulting from the exuberance of the artist's imagination is another feature of the art of Amarāvati which is frequently to be met with in the sculptures there. For example, note the crowding of figures in the circular panel representing the Alms-box of the Buddha in the Heaven of the Thirty-three (Plate XXIX *a*). Each figure has an attractive expression and a gay, carefree pose, the majority dancing from sheer joy in life, and those at the top, which are female figures, have interlaced themselves into a sort of garland. The latter arrangement as a decorative motif was often copied in later sculpture at Ajanta and elsewhere.³

The artist's love of ornamentation can be best understood from the numerous representations of the *stūpa* itself (Plate XXIX *b*), or from the many designs of the coping-stones of the railing in which plump *ganas* (dwarfs) and grown-up youths (*yakshas*) are carrying the heavy garland (Plate XXX *a-b*). In the former subject no inch of space is left without carving, and myth and nature and religion and art are interwoven in an intricate pattern. The figures are, however, mobile, and each plays its role in a significant manner in the general scheme.

The other subject representing a garland has a vast amount of decorative

¹ In this attitude the right hand is raised with the elbow bent and the palm exposed, and the left hand placed in the lap.

² Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer has discussed this subject in a very able manner, and students may read his dissertation in vol. I (pp. 110-14) of his book, *Early Indian Sculpture*.

³ G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. iv, pl. lxxviii *b*.

work; the garland itself, which is in the form of a roll, has an embroidered or chased surface, the designs being of the floral kind which is to be noticed on the scarfs of chiefs in the early sculpture of the Deccan.¹ The artist has further decorated the garland with small panels, both circular and square in design, filled with alto-relievo sculptures. Between the loops are carved religious subjects representing the adoration of the Great Being by votaries, who are generally in pairs. The Master in these panels is not represented in human form, but his presence has been indicated by such symbols as the sacred tree or the *stūpa*. The workmanship is so neat that the entire pattern looks like the goldsmith's or the ivory-carver's work. It may also be borne in mind that both the goldsmith's and the ivory-carver's crafts were highly developed at that time, and the adepts in these crafts may also have practised stone-carving with equal success.

In comparing the sculpture of the western zone of the Deccan, namely that of Bedsā, Konḍāne, and Kārle, with that of Amarāvati, one notices a marked progress, both in the intellectual and the technical qualities of the art. The sculpture of Amarāvati is more eloquent in telling the story and more significant in expressing the inner feelings than its earlier prototype of the western zone. The movement suggested in the sculpture exhibits softer grace and a more subtle rhythm, while the human bodies show a greater charm of suppleness. The crowding of figures and attenuation of limbs are obvious defects of the sculpture of Amarāvati, apparently due to the rich imagination and unrestrained fancy of the artist, but these blemishes were in course of time gradually removed from Indian sculpture, as will be noticed below in the study of the specimens of later periods, fifth to twelfth centuries A.D.

In passing from Amarāvati to Ajanta and Ellora, a remarkable change both in outlook and feeling may be perceived, due evidently to the change of climate and geographical environment. The hot, moist atmosphere of the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā, though it seems to have encouraged a lush fertility of imagination, enervated the artist's general vitality and produced a morbidity of thought. At Ajanta and Ellora, amidst the rolling plateaux and the high cliffs, the vision was at once widened and the intellect gained strength. The colossal statues of the Buddha inside the shrines and the lofty façades of the various *chaitya*-caves convey a sublimity of spirit and grandeur of ideals which are not to be met with at Amarāvati, however charming and beautiful the sculptures of the latter place may be.

To illustrate the observations made above it will be appropriate to describe a few typical sculptures of Ajanta. Taking those of colossal size first, the Buddha in the shrine of cave I may be studied here (Plate XXX). The Great Being is represented in the teaching attitude, the *dharmacakra mudrā*. He is seated on a throne with the legs crossed and the soles of the feet

¹ Cf. Plate XXIII, in which the decorative work of the head-gear of a chief represented in a sculpture at Konḍāne is shown.

exposed. He is clad in a robe of transparent material, but the lower margin of the garment is indicated by a line a little above the ankle. The hair is curled in the conventional style and at the top of the head is a knob, the *ushnīsha*. Behind the head is a painted disk representing the halo, and two fat cherubs are bringing offerings of flowers from heaven. Behind the throne on either side of the Buddha is a princely attendant wearing a high crown. On the front of the throne the Wheel of Law is carved in the middle and there are also figures of stags, one on each side of the Wheel. The figures of some votaries may also be noticed behind the stags. The votaries are shown in different poses, some are squatting, some kneeling, and some sitting with their legs doubled, one touching the ground and another raised up. The subject carved on the throne evidently represents the sermon of the Buddha in the deer-park at Sārnāth.

The figure of the Buddha is almost three times the size of an ordinary human being,¹ and although the body is carved in a conventional style the expression of the face is marvellous, showing internal calm and sublimity of feeling. The spiritual effect of the image is considerably enhanced by the golden light of the lamps, which originally would have been kept lighted day and night. The light of the lamps also shows a smile on the lips of the Great Being indicating his benign nature.

The door of the shrine may appear to be over-elaborately carved, but the workmanship is exquisite and the entire design gives a superb setting to the splendour of the religious subject carved inside the shrine.

Another colossal sculpture of Ajanta worthy of mention in this brief survey is the death scene of the Buddha carved in cave XXVI. He is represented as lying on a couch with his eyes closed and his head resting on a pillow. The right hand of the Master is under his cheek, and the fingers, notwithstanding the gigantic size of the figure—23 ft. 4 in. in length—have been carved with a most realistic effect, which is also to be noticed in the creases of the sleeve of the robe and those of the pillow. The Master's face shows calm and peace as if he is fast asleep.² The design of the feet of the couch has not changed much during the fourteen or fifteen hundred years which have elapsed since the subject was carved, and bedsteads with feet of this shape may still be seen in the towns of India. Another interesting piece of furniture is the stand for the water-flagon, which has three legs. By the side of the bed there are about twenty figures of monks and nuns mourning

¹ The following measurements may be of interest to students:

Height of the throne above the floor: 3 ft.

Height of the Buddha (seated), above the throne: 10 ft. 3 in.

Breadth of the image, chest and arms, front: 6 ft. 8 in.

Breadth of the image, from knee to knee, above the throne: 8 ft. 10 in.

² Hsüan Tsang, writing about A.D. 640, has observed regarding a similar sculpture at Kuśinara: 'In a great chapel is the representation of the *nirvāṇa* of the Tathagātha. His face is turned to the north and has the appearance of one slumbering.'

the loss of the Master, their faces bearing distinct expressions of grief. Above the bed, higher on the rock-wall, are representations of Indra, and other gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three, and also of cherubs and heavenly musicians who are shown as if descending from the sky to welcome the Great Being on his return to heaven. There is a feeling of joy in the latter part of the scene in contrast to that of the grief shown by the figures near the bedstead. The general effect of the sculpture is, however, more of 'pathos' than of 'ethos', and it is the former aspect of the sculpture which appeals most to the eye and to the mind (Plate XXXI).

Among the sculptures of Ajanta there is a large number of representations of *Nāga* kings, but two of them are of outstanding merit from an artistic point of view. In a panel carved at the extreme end of the left wall of cave XIX is a subject representing a *Nāga* king and *Nāginī* seated on a throne (Plate XXXII).¹ Another *Nāginī* is shown as an attendant, standing by the side of the throne with a fly-whisk in her right hand. The stone being soft and porous, the sculpture has deteriorated considerably, but the pose of the two *Nāginīs* and the expression on the faces of all three figures betoken such internal calm that the subject is ranked for its spiritual effect amongst the best sculptures of Buddhist art.²

The other subject (Plate XXXIII) represents two *Nāga* kings carved as *dvārapālas*, one on each side of the door of cave XXIII.³ The figures are not very large, but it is the modelling of their heads which exhibits the consummate skill of the artist. The features are refined and the expression of the face suggests both dignity and internal peace. The spiritual aspect of Buddhist sculpture may also be noticed in the figures of the Master carved on the rock-wall, on either side of the doorway of cave XIX (Plate XXXIV). But the most attractive feature of this cave is its decorative work, which shows an infinite variety of design, embracing mythical subjects, geometrical patterns, floral devices, and figures of birds and animals, the latter through the fancy of the sculptor having been carved into quaint shapes and bedecked with unusual ornaments, particularly the representations of the *makaras* and the geese. The rich imagination and perfect skill of the sculptor have caused the façade of this cave (XIX) to be considered one of the most magnificent examples of Buddhist art.

The figures of animals carved at Ajanta show a close study of their habits as well as complete ability to represent them with realistic effect, whenever the artist's fancy was not prepossessed by religious convention or mythical lore. The elephant is shown in a variety of poses characteristic of the animal,

¹ E. B. Havell, *Ideals of Indian Art*, pl. xxiv; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Vīṣṇukarma*, pl. lxii; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pl. xxxix; Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. iv, pl. lxxvib.

² It may be of interest to note that in the Vākātaka genealogy a king named Bhavanāga is mentioned as the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I (c. A.D. 335-360). This Bhavanāga has been identified with the King Bhavanāga of the Nāga dynasty of Padmāvatī in the Gwalior State.

³ Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. iv, pl. lxxviii a.

but sculptures of other animals also are equally lifelike, proving the keen observation of the artist. For example, in the hall of cave I above the capital of a pillar is a panel representing four deer with a common head (Plate XXXV *a*). It may be considered to be a mere freak to combine four bodies with one common head, but what is really admirable is that the pose of the animal in each representation is absolutely lifelike. In the lower two representations, the one on the left shows the animal sitting on the ground and looking in front with his head raised, as if he has scented danger; that on the right also shows the alertness of the animal, because he has curved his neck and is looking backward in the direction from which he fears the coming of the enemy. In the upper two representations, that on the left again shows the animal in a state of alarm; he has lowered his neck and stretched out his muzzle in front, and is looking sharply as if to watch the approach of his enemy and to determine in which direction to run away. The fourth figure, on the right, shows the deer in a characteristic attitude; he has turned his neck and head backwards in order to scratch his muzzle with the hoof of his foot. The bodies of the deer in all four figures have been carved in a realistic style with due regard to the three dimensions.

In passing from Ajanta to Ellora, one may notice a striking change in the religious aspect of the sculpture; although at the latter place all the three great religions of early India, the Buddhist, the Brāhmanic, and the Jaina, are represented, yet the Brāhmanic faith predominates over the other two. The early Buddhist caves of Ellora do not possess any sculpture of outstanding merit. Viśvakarma, the Do Thāl, and the Tīn Thāl, which were hewn in the seventh to eighth centuries A.D., of course contain representations of the Buddha and other deities of that religion, quite impressive in regard to their size, religious expression, and decorative features. But somehow they lack that spiritual dignity and artistic grace which is to be noted at Ajanta and other early centres of Buddhist art. The Brāhmanic sculpture of Ellora on the other hand has tremendous force and boundless energy, features showing the gods to be superhuman rather than human beings, which characteristic is also emphasized by the multiplication of their heads and arms. Again, since in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Śaivism was the popular religion in the Deccan, the teaching of this faith, which regards God as a 'Destroyer', led the imagination of the artist to associate with the god the most horrid aspects of life which could be conceived. To elucidate this view further it will be best to describe in some detail some of the typical sculptures of Ellora. We begin with the Daśāvatāra, which was originally a Buddhist shrine and was later converted into a Brāhmanic temple and adorned with both Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite bas-reliefs. In the upper hall of this temple, the first sculpture on the north side, near the door, represents the Bhairava. It is carved with great boldness and power, and the figure, which is gigantic in size, lunges forward with threatening ferocity. The god holds up his elephant

hide, with the necklace of skulls (*muṇḍamālā*) falling below his loins; round him a cobra is knotted; his open mouth shows his large teeth, while with his *triśūla* he has transfixed one victim who, writhing on its prongs, seems to supplicate pity from the pitiless. He holds another by the heels with one of his left hands, raising the *damru* as if to rattle it in joy while he catches the blood with which to quench his demoniac thirst. To add to the elements of horror Kālī, gaunt and grim, stretches her skeleton length below, with huge mouth, bushy hair, and sunken eyeballs, having a crooked knife in her right hand, and stretching out the other with a bowl, as if eager to share in the gore of the victim. Behind her head is an owl or vampire, a fit witness of the scene. On the right, in front of the skeleton, is Pārvatī; and higher up, near the foot of the victim *Rātanasura*, is a face putting out its tongue. The group is a picture of the devilish; the very armlets of Bhairava are ogre faces. The subject was a favourite one, for it is carved in several cave-temples at Ellora, the ghastly aspect of the scene being accentuated by varying detail. For example, the ugly teeth and protruded eyeballs of Bhairava in cave XXIX (Plate XXXV *b*) indicate an attitude of fury and devilish joy, which mood of the god has frightened his consort Pārvatī, who to calm her disconcerted mind and palpitating heart has placed her hand on her bosom. The sculpture in its force and dramatic effect is indeed marvellous, but at the same time its aggressive religious character cannot be overlooked. This aggressiveness is also to be noticed in the Vaishṇavite sculpture of the period seventh to eighth centuries A.D., although after a couple of centuries (tenth century onwards) through the teachings of the latter cult the statuary of the Deccan acquired much grace and beauty. In the *Daśāvatāra*, as well as in the Kailāsa, Vaishṇavite sculpture has the same relentless feeling and demoniac effect as the Śaivite statuary, and we find such subjects as Viṣṇu taking the giant stride and thrusting his rival Bali down to hell, or in his incarnation as Nṛsiṃha tearing out the entrails of his enemy, or as Varāha, the boar-incarnation, trampling on a snake demon and rescuing Pṛithvī, the Earth, from destruction. Both Coomaraswamy and Havell have reproduced the *Daśāvatāra* sculpture in which Viṣṇu as man-lion subdues Hiraṇya-Kaśipu, the king of Asuras, who according to the myth had obtained from Brahma a kind of immortality. Inflated with pride he attempted to occupy the position of Viṣṇu, and tormented his son Prahlāda who refused to worship his father in place of the god. The sculpture represents Viṣṇu, the man-lion, eight-armed, attacking his opponent Hiraṇya, who is inclined on one side as if admitting his defeat. The lower part of the sculpture is broken but the devilish growl of Nṛsiṃha and the helpless subdued mood of Hiraṇya are abundantly clear and make the subject a typical example of the Brāhmanic art of this period, the eighth century A.D.¹

¹ E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pl. xxiii; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Viśvakarma*, pl. xliii; K. de B. Codrington, *Ancient India*, pl. 50 a.

But even amidst the Brāhmanic sculptures of Ellora of the eighth century A.D. one may notice here and there some subjects reminiscent of the soft grace, joyous expression, nimble movement, and elegant poses of the Buddhist statuary of the fifth century. Among such sculptures the pairs of flying figures carved on the upper walls of the Kailāsa, and the representation of a river-goddess at the upper end of the court, towards the left, in the Rāmeśvara, cave XXI, are of outstanding merit. The pairs of flying figures with their refined features, happy serenity, and appearance of movement have all the charm and grace of the Buddhist *apsaras*, and the tradition of the sculptor's art in carving such figures seems to have continued even after the decline of the Buddhist faith, for figures in an equally effective style are to be noticed on the walls of the Vaiṣṇava temple at Aihole (Plate XXXVI *a*), which is almost contemporary with the Kailāsa at Ellora, and also on the exteriors of the shrines at Ālampur,¹ which are of a much later date, eleventh or twelfth century A.D. (Plate XIX *b*). The sculpture of the river-goddess in the Rāmeśvara, cave XXI, at Ellora, is almost classical in artistic effect both in regard to its technique and its higher intellectual qualities (Plate XXXVI *b*). The goddess stands on a lotus flower resting on the back of an alligator, whose muzzle and the lower part of whose body have been transformed into decorative motifs by the artist's love of ornamental vagaries. The pose of the figure is delightful, the outline curving in such a way as to suggest combined grace and vitality. The left hand of the divinity rests on the head of a dwarf whose face bears an expression of devout adoration, an emotion further indicated by the set of his folded hands. There are also cherubs, who are descending from heaven with presents to the goddess. One of these, however, has been partly effaced by the weathering of the rock. There is unfortunately a crack across the face of the goddess, but her graceful features and spiritual expression can still be admired. To the right proper of the goddess is a female attendant holding a fly-whisk. Through the weathering of the rock this figure also has suffered much damage and the facial features have been completely obliterated. The grace of the pose and the plastic beauty of the limbs, however, attract the eye.

The above sculpture, belonging apparently to the eighth century A.D., reminds one of the Buddhist sculptures in the *vihāra* cave (No. 7) at Aurangābād. In these there has been an attempt to express vitality by depicting large breasts and stout limbs (Plate XXXVII *a*). The face of the Rāmeśvara goddess has a fitting appearance of calm serenity, but the sculptor has indicated more human emotion in the carving of the rest of the figure, notably in the pose of the right foot. The dwarf in the Aurangābād subject has a comical expression, as though he is feeling the weight of the heavy arm of the goddess who, to maintain her balance, has placed her elbow on his head. The crossed legs, the crooked stick, and the exposed teeth of the dwarf add

¹ *Supra*, p. 739.

to the grotesque effect of the subject. This sculpture may belong to the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century A.D., when Buddhist art was gradually losing its intellectual qualities, but in this subject the bold conceptions of the artist are amply exhibited, as is also his flair for the quaint and bizarre.

To return to the Brāhmanic sculpture, it may be observed that, due to the doctrines of Śaktism and the influence of the Purāṇic literature connected with this teaching, the aggressive character of Śaivite sculpture gradually softened down with the passing of time after the eighth century A.D., and in the tenth century A.D. we see Śiva dancing, not as a fiercely aggressive figure but in sheer joy of living, and often accompanied by musicians and his gentle consort Pārvatī. Teaching based on the worship of the active producing principle, as inculcated by Śaktism, led the artist to introduce into religious sculpture a variety of subjects some of which may be considered to be obscene, such as the *maithuna* pairs; but for command of grace in moulding outlines and for charm of decorative features Indian sculpture of this class undoubtedly reached its high-water mark during the tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D.

But before describing Brāhmanic sculpture of the above style it will be correct chronologically to point out the salient features of the Jaina sculpture of the Deccan. The Jaina faith existed here from very early times, but flourished especially during the period of the ninth to eleventh centuries A.D., when important centres of the cult were established at Ellora, at Patancheru, nineteen miles to the north-west of the present city of Hyderabad, at Kulpāk, the Kollipaka of the inscriptions, forty-five miles north-east of Hyderabad, and at Kopbal in the Raichur District of the Hyderabad State. All these sites are ancient, and at Kopbal some inscriptions have been discovered which show that the latter town had acquired fame as a *tīrtha* of the Jaina religion in the ninth century A.D. Some scholars have found evidence for asserting that Kopbal (Kopana) was noted as a Jaina sanctuary in the seventh century A.D.¹ At Ellora the temples of this faith, being rock-hewn, are intact, except for a few which owing to the weathering of the rock have deteriorated somewhat. At other places, however, great havoc was wrought through the rivalry of contemporary faiths and there is epigraphic evidence to prove that some Jaina shrines were burnt and razed to the ground. Such acts of vandalism seem to have been perpetrated at Patancheru, Kulpāk, and Kopbal, where the Archaeological Department has dug out from the ground, and also collected from the surface, a large number of Jaina images.

As regards the general character of the Jaina sculpture of the Deccan it may be observed that it shows competent workmanship and also conveys to some extent a feeling of religious serenity; but it suffers by comparison with

¹ The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopbal, *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Monograph No. 12, p. 2, n. 1.

Buddhist statuary, or with Brāhmanic images, because it possesses neither the majestic dignity of the former, nor the vigour and zeal of the latter. The art seems to be schematic, representations being classed according to certain religious principles and showing no creative effort on the part of the artist. To illustrate this view two images may be described (Plates XXXVII b-XXXVIII a); one of them is now exhibited in Sālār Jung's palace at Sururnagar in the suburbs of Hyderabad, and the other is displayed in the Sculpture Gallery of the Hyderabad Museum. The former was found at Kopbal and represents Pārśvanātha standing under a mystical canopy comprising seven cobra-hoods joined to the body of a single dragon whose coils are spread behind the god and whose tail touches the ground. Above this canopy there is another, probably of metal, divided into several tiers and finally crowned with a pointed finial.

On one side of the figure of the god, near his feet, is the representation of a *yaksha* and on the corresponding side the figure of a *yakshiṇī*, both being much smaller in size than the main figure.¹ There are miniature representations of the twenty-three Tirthaṅkaras of the Jaina faith seated in small niches, which are arranged in a scroll adorning the margin of the slab on which the image of Pārśvanātha is carved. There is also a Kanarese inscription at the foot of the slab mentioning the name of the votary, Bopanna, at whose instance the image of the god was carved.²

The figure shows good modelling with regard to the treatment of the head and the limbs, while the face bears an expression of internal calm derived from moral austerity such as is inculcated by the Jaina religion. The sculpture is of hornblende of the same variety as that used for the pillars and friezes of the Deccan temples of the eighth to thirteenth centuries. It is jet black and beautifully polished.

The other sculpture, exhibited in the Hyderabad Museum, is also of hornblende, and the god is shown seated in the *dhyāna mudrā*, the attitude of contemplation. The modelling of this figure also shows technical skill of a high order. Although the god is carved in a meditative mood, his neck and head are held firmly upright and convey by this pose an impression of spiritual dignity. In Jaina sculpture the figures of gods do not generally possess any decorative features, but this artist's leaning towards ornamentation may be noticed in the treatment of the hair, which has been shown as if dressed with a fine brush. The small *chakras* carved on the soles of the feet also show the same tendency.

In purely decorative designs, such as floral and jewellery patterns, or conventional motifs based on mythical or real animal figures, or miniature scriptural subjects, the skill of the Jaina sculptor is in no way inferior to that of the Buddhist or the Brāhmanic artist. It perhaps even surpasses that

¹ Each of these two figures has a *nāga* hood above it in the form of a small canopy.

² For this inscription see Monograph 12, *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, p. 11.

of his rivals of the latter two faiths in richness of design and exuberance of complicated ornamental detail. But this lavishness of Jaina art is often out of proportion in relation to the general scheme of a subject as a whole, and thus betrays a lack of balanced judgement and refined taste.

In coming to the Brāhmanic sculpture of the tenth to thirteenth centuries we appear to have passed beyond the times of acute controversy, since the artist does not seem to have been possessed during this period by any such feelings of acrimony towards a rival faith as might arouse his passions and cause him to dwell on violent and aggressive themes. Nor does his impulse seem to be oppressed and fettered by any traditional devices and rules which might make his creation feeble or lifeless. His love of the beautiful is further developed, but beauty to him is not restricted within the narrow limits of symmetry of limbs or elegance of features. He notices it in the vigour and movement of the fullness of life, and his heart expands and his imagination is stirred by visions and experiences emanating from a wider outlook upon art and a broader conception of beauty.

To enable the student to grasp the full artistic import of the sculpture of the Deccan of this period—tenth to thirteenth centuries—seven typical subjects are described below, four of which are from the well-known temple near the Rāmappa Lake in the Warangal District, one from a Vaishnavite temple at Peḍampet in the Karimnagar District, and two from the Pañchīśvara temple, near the embankment of the Pāngul tank at Nalgonda. As the number of temples adorned with sculpture of a high artistic quality is unlimited in the Deccan, it appears that carving as a folk-art must have made tremendous progress during this period. Almost every village, whether in the Marāṭha zone or in the Telīṅgāna or Karnatak areas, possesses a temple decorated with sculpture of exceptional beauty and elegance.

Of the four sculptures from the Rāmappa temple three represent dancing-girls. They are carved on blocks used architecturally as struts for the support of eaves (*chhajjas*). The faces of these dancers do not possess such refined features as might appeal to those who appreciate Greek ideals of art, nor do the figures exhibit any fine symmetry of limbs, but the suggestion of movement and pulsating life conveyed by the gestures of fingers and the poses of the bodies appeals to the artistic sense, more particularly because the sculptor has managed to give a wonderful impression of youth and rhythm. The outline of the body seems to move in curves, indicating in each pose, or dancing-step, an emotional grace and a mood of exultation seldom to be met with in Indian sculpture of the earlier periods. This temple, according to a contemporary record, was built in A.D. 1203; and what art is now trying to express in the West was perhaps expressed in India 800 years before (Plates XXXVIII *b*–XXXIX *a-b*).

The idea of the exuberance of youth combined with unfettered emotion is further illustrated in the next two sculptures (Plate XL *a-b*), one from

the Rāmappa temple and the other from the shrine at Peḍampet. The former represents the nude study of a woman (*nāgini*) intoxicated with the fervour of youth. Impetuous *joie-de-vivre* is conveyed in the treatment of the legs, which are gracefully extended at full length, or in that of the arms which are lifted lightly to bring into prominence the charm of a youthful bosom. There is a delightful swaying in the line of the body between the chest and the hips which enhances the emotional effect of the sculpture. The artist, to give further mythical significance to the sculpture, has placed a serpent in her hands and one or more round her neck, arms, and body, as if she had clasped them with ecstatic frenzy in her mood of exultant joy. The serpent held by her delicate fingers has a large hood to be seen to the left of her right hand.

The other sculpture, which is from Peḍampet, possesses some very striking characteristics, notably the extraordinary plumpness of the hips, which feature is further exaggerated by the sharp curve of the body line near the waist. The waist is thin, as is usual in Indian sculpture, but in this subject this characteristic has been accentuated by the over-development of bosom and abdomen. The arms have been thrown up and the hands gracefully joined above the head. But in carving the arms the artist has again exaggerated their girth in contrast to the elbows, which look comparatively thin but more shapely. This exaggeration of certain parts of the body, as if to suggest an exuberance of life, or swirl of emotion, combined with the bold sweep of the line of the body may perhaps be held to confirm the view of certain critics of modern Western art that the influence of Indian sculpture is unmistakable in the symbolic and impressionistic aspects of the latter.

The next two sculptures (Plate XL *a-b*), which are from the Pañchīśvara temple at Pāṅgul, represent Śiva and Gaṇeśa respectively; Śiva has a victim trampled under his feet, but the swing of his figure, the liteness of his many arms, and the sensitive appearance of his fingers and toes have given the entire subject an aspect of light-hearted enjoyment, and the idea of anger or ruthless revenge felt in the sculptures of Ellora of the late seventh or eighth century is not to be perceived here. The same carefree attitude is evident in the next sculpture, in which Gaṇeśa is shown riding on a rat. The bizarre nature of the scheme has issued in a most grotesque creation. The workmanship of both sculptures is neat, and the artist's love of ornamentation may be appreciated from a study of the minor details of the sculptures. Grace of poise, suppleness of limbs, sense of movement, and elegance of minute ornamentation are the salient features of the sculptures of this period—tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D. They also suggest an idea of well-being and felicity, not the solemn spiritual joy of the Buddhist, but a more human feeling resulting from overflowing vitality or from the emotions of sex attraction.

In concluding this review of the sculpture of the Deccan it may be ob-

served that the fine bronze figures which are to be seen everywhere in the temples of South India are rarely to be found in the Deccan, but this scarcity does not necessarily prove that the sculptor of the Deccan did not use bronze at all as a medium for the successful exhibition of his talent. In A.D. 1932 a small bronze image was accidentally discovered during excavations of the foundations of a house in Warangal. The image is only $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height, but the modelling of the head and the expression of the face show both technical skill and intellectual qualities of a high order, and the figure seems to belong to the period ninth to tenth centuries A.D., for it has neither the harshness of the early Brāhmanic sculpture nor the soft grace of the later statuary of the same faith. The face shows an inner determination and calm based on an austere religious discipline. The expression has some resemblance to the calm of some of the Jaina images of Ellora, but this bronze statuette belongs to the Brāhmanic faith, and perhaps represents Lakshmi in the form of a lamp-bearer (Plate XLII *a*). The lamp is missing, but the manner in which the hands are stretched out shows that they originally held something.¹

¹ The image is described in greater detail in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June 1934, pp. 71-72, pl. xiii. See also the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad*, 1933-4, p. 13, pl. xi.

IV

PAINTING

It is difficult to state precisely when painting as an art began in the Deccan, but the specimens of wall painting which exist on the left wall of the *chaitya*-cave X at Ajanta show a fairly well-developed craftsmanship. This *chaitya*, according to two contemporary Brāhmī inscriptions, was cut in the rock about the end of the second century B.C.¹ The paintings on the left wall of cave IX, which is also a *chaitya*, are similar in style to those of cave X and may be at the most fifty to a hundred years later than their prototypes in the latter cave. They represent aboriginal people with long hair, which is tied with ribbons in the form of crests of serpents' hoods on the crowns of their heads. They have scanty clothing but elaborate jewellery, the latter comprising large ear-rings and metal necklaces of various designs. The features of the women and of some of the men resemble those of the Marāṭhas of the present day, with oval faces, short noses, fairly thick lips, and medium stature. These paintings apparently represent contemporary people, a hybrid race, i.e. a mixture of the aboriginal Dravidians (or the pre-Dravidians) and the Scythians, who seem to have entered the Deccan in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., if not earlier. Men wear narrow loin-cloths to cover their bodies; women have a similar garment for the lower part of the body, but they also wear a brassière (*choli*) and have a scarf (*orhni*) to cover the head in the present Indian style.

The colours used in the paintings of caves IX and X are red ochre, yellow ochre, terre-verte, lamp black, and white of lime, which have been used pure or mixed to produce the desired effect in the scheme. For the lower lip and the corners of the eye the artist has used a kind of bright vermilion, apparently made from red ochre. The drawing is firm and accurate and shows due regard to the three dimensions. But there are no light or dark colour washes to accentuate any particular detail, or to show the body in the round, such as one notices in the wall-paintings of caves I and II, which belong to a later period, the fifth century A.D. The grouping shows a balanced judgement, and there is both life and movement in the figures drawn.

Let us describe the scene painted on the left wall of cave X: first there are some soldiers armed with spears, maces, bows and arrows, swords, and sickle-like scimitars. They are clad in short-sleeved shirts or jackets, and one of them has an elaborate head-gear which is in the form of a turban at

¹ Prof. Lüders is very definite in his opinion and he states that the painted inscription on the left wall belongs to the middle of the second century B.C., while the inscription carved on the façade is still earlier. *Ajanta*, iii, 1, and appendix, pp. 86-87.

the top with flaps for the protection of the ears, and also a band which passes below the chin, and is apparently meant to keep the helmet firmly fixed to the head. The soldiers belong to the bodyguard of a *rājā* who with a group of ladies is seen immediately in front of them. The *rājā* is shown in front of a tree which is bedecked with flags. The tree evidently represents the Bodhi-tree under which the Buddha received his 'enlightenment'. In early Buddhist sculpture and painting the Buddha is not represented in human form, for according to the Hīnayāna doctrine it was considered sacrilege so to present him. The *rājā* has come to fulfil some vow connected with the boy who is standing close to the tree. He is reciting a prayer and all the ladies of the party are taking part in the ritual. The head of one lady is decorated with three peacock's feathers (Plate XLII *b*).

On the other side of the tree, towards the right, is a large party of musicians and dancers, comprising fifteen artistes, all of whom are female. Women are reported to have joined the Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* as nuns during Gautama's lifetime, or shortly afterwards; but the presence of a well-developed orchestra, such as is shown in this painting, in the second century B.C., indicates that the organization of female dancers and musicians attached to religious shrines existed in the Deccan earlier than the advent of the Buddhist faith. Two of the party in this painting are blowing trumpets and the rest are clapping or dancing. Clapping is still used in India and in other Oriental countries to mark time, or to produce the high pitch effect in music. Among the dancers the one nearest the sacred tree has raised and curved her arm in a peculiar style as if to give the body a whirl like the eddying motion of water, or the writhing of a serpent. The poses and steps of the other two dancers are typically Indian and may be noticed in the dancing of the present day (Plate XLIII *a*).

The drawing of this subject shows a well-developed art, both in conception and execution, and it must have taken many centuries to reach that stage. There is a close resemblance in the representation of the human figures, in regard to their dress, ornaments, and ethnical features, between this painting and the sculptures at Konḍāne and Kārle, which are contemporary with it and belong to the second century B.C., or about that date.¹

On the right wall of cave X is painted the *Shaḍ-Danta Jātaka*, or the story of the Six-Tusked Elephant, with an inscription which palaeographically cannot be earlier than the third century A.D. If the inscription is connected with the painting, it appears that the latter is some four centuries later than its prototype on the right wall of this cave, which has already been described. The people represented in this painting are also non-Āryans, like those of the former, but the artist's delight in the scenic beauty, or his close study of animal life, or his skill in expressing feelings of pathos with a religious

¹ The dancing figures carved at Kārle and Konḍāne have already been described in the section on sculpture, *supra*, pp. 744-5.

effect, or his love of ornamentation in minor detail, are qualities which show that the art of painting had made much progress, both intellectually and technically, during the period of 400 years which intervened between the paintings of the left and the right walls.

The artist has painted all the incidents mentioned in the *Shaḍ-Danta Jātaka*, but he has changed their order. He begins with the wild life of elephants in an impenetrable forest with marshy soil infested by crocodiles and pythons (Plate XLIII *b*), and terminates with palace scenes, crowded with human figures and a royal procession to a place of worship comprising a *stūpa* and a *vihāra* (Plate XLIV). In the middle he has delineated the bath of the royal elephant in the lotus-lake, and his favourite resort under a colossal banyan tree (Plate XLV). This arrangement has a certain significance from the point of view of the artist, who for an impressive demonstration of his skill has kept the scenes relating to animal life and to the beauty of natural scenery almost separate from those depicting human feelings, wherein the gloom of sorrow and suffering is illumined by the light of faith and devotion.

Among the scenes of animal life in a forest the artist has painted with great effect a fight between an alligator and an elephant, the elephant having thrown his rival on its back and placed one of his forelegs on its belly, and being in the act of exerting further pressure with his trunk in order to crush the alligator. Close by a huge python has caught one of the legs of an elephant, who seems to be in great agony and has raised his trunk as if to shriek and call to his companions of the herd for help. A delightful scene is the bath of a herd of elephants in a lotus-lake, where they are shown raising and curving their trunks in a variety of characteristic styles as they revel in the comforting luxury of the water.

For dramatic effect the most impressive is the court-scene wherein the *rānī* faints at the sight of the tusks, for the *Shaḍ-Danta* elephant in a previous incarnation had been her beloved husband and in a fit of revenge she had sent hunters to bring the tusks of the elephant, since according to her fancy he was more devoted to his other wife than to herself. The *rājā* of Benares, who is her husband in the present incarnation, is seated next to her, and is supporting her by placing one of his hands behind her back and holding her right shoulder with the other. A maid in attendance is fanning her, another has brought water to pour on her head, or to sprinkle on her face, a third nearest to the *rānī* is offering her a drink, and a fourth at the right side of the scene has placed her hand on her mouth in characteristic Indian style to subdue her feelings of grief. The maid holding the umbrella is looking towards the tusks, which have struck the entire court with consternation. A woman who is squatting on the floor is massaging the soles of the *rānī*'s feet in order to revive her. Apart from the general effect of pathos which pervades the entire scene, the grouping of the figures, the graceful poses, the beautiful coiffures

and ornaments of the ladies, and the scanty but artistic dress of the various persons in the picture all illustrate the lively imagination and refined taste of the painter, as well as his highly developed technical skill and his power of portraying a subject in any manner he may desire according to the dictates of his fancy.

The subject on the right wall of cave X marks an important stage in the history of the painting of the Deccan, because this form of the art, as regards both the representation of racial types in human figures, and the technique and material of the painting itself, is essentially indigenous and is not dominated by any alien influences, even from as near as Northern India. About the close of the third century A.D. the Āndhras, the then rulers of the country, were overthrown and succeeded by the Vākātakas, who hailed from the territory north of the Deccan and had matrimonial relations with the Guptas. During their administration of some two hundred years Buddhism flourished in the Deccan, but in dogma as well as ritual it was much influenced by the co-existing Brāhmanic faith throughout this period.

The prevalence of the Mahāyāna doctrine in the Deccan from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (it was evolved nearly a century earlier in North India) was largely due to this impact of the religious beliefs and culture of the north on those obtaining to the south of the Narmadā up to the end of the third century A.D. As a result of this blending of cultures and religious ideals the art of painting made rapid progress intellectually, although its technique remained indigenous, for there was apparently no school of painting in Āryan India from whose practice it could have benefited.

On the wall and pillars of cave X at Ajanta there are some paintings which on the ground of palaeographic evidence or technical development may be assigned to the fourth century A.D., such as the Śyama Jātaka delineated to the left of the Shaḍ-Danta Jātaka on the right wall, or some representations of the Buddha on the pillars of the side aisles. But to be absolutely sure of this date it would be best to compare it with some of the typical paintings of caves I, II, XVI, and XVII, which all belong to the fifth century A.D., because there are both painted and rock-cut inscriptions in these caves in which occur the names of some Vākātaka kings who ruled during the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.¹

With regard to the time-sequence of these four caves it may be observed that in the matter of technique caves I and XVI appear to be almost contemporary, cave XVII immediately following them, and cave II coming last in the group. In cave I the stories of the 'renunciation' of the Buddha predominate, in cave XVI the stories of his birth and childhood and some

¹ 'Vākātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta,' *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 14, pp. 2-10; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vii (1862), 56 ff.; 'Cave Temples of Western India,' *A.S.I.*, 1882, pp. 69 ff., and the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, iv (1883), 124 ff.

legends connected with the monastic life are delineated, whilst cave XVII contains mainly the stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations in different forms, as a generous prince or a benevolent animal—elephant, monkey, deer, goose, fish, or serpent. Cave II contains some stories of the Buddha as Prince Siddhārtha, and also some tales of his previous incarnations as the sagacious Brāhman, Vidhurapaṇḍita, or the hermit Kṣāntivādi.

The ideals of art represented in the paintings of the above-mentioned four caves are characterized by a divine majesty and serenity on the one hand, and by human emotion and feelings of affection on the other. In the subject 'Mother and Child before the Buddha' one receives an impression of the sublimity of the Great Being from his colossal size as well as from his calm and dignified expression, but the motive which has brought him to beg at his own door is intensely human, and this human feeling, in a more lively manner, is conveyed to us by the love-light in the eyes of Yaśodharā, his wife, and by the astonished looks of Rāhula, his son (Plate XLVI). The figure of the Buddha must originally have measured some 10 ft., while that of his wife is somewhere near 5 ft., the difference in size denoting that the former is superhuman, whilst the latter is but a mere human being. There is not a large variety of colours in the painting, but the few which have been used show refined taste. The Buddha is dressed in an orange robe, his own complexion being brown with a golden effect. The hair, which is shown curled conventionally, is jet black. The background is of a dark colour, originally being dark green, or dark red, but its darkness makes a happy contrast with the orange colour of the robe and the golden brown of the face. The figure, owing to the dark background, appears almost in relief. This dullness of the background, however, has been relieved by flowers of bright colours which are being showered from heaven over the head of the Master. A cherub supports a canopy over his head. The Buddha himself holds a begging-bowl in his right hand, which he has stretched out towards Yaśodharā. She has pushed the child lovingly in front of her to be blessed by the Great Being, and herself seems to be overpowered by feelings of reverence as she contemplates the exalted position of her beloved husband. The painting admirably represents spiritual greatness combined with human emotion such as is expressed in the following words of the legend: 'O Siddhārtha, that night Rāhula was born, you renounced the kingdom and went silently away. Now you have a more glorious kingdom instead.'

In the portraits of the Mother and Child there is actually very little colour, but the line work is so perfect and the ornaments are so tastefully adjusted that the result is a masterly specimen of the delineation of feminine grace imbued with tender feelings of love.

In cave I, the subject painted in the back corridor to the left of the ante-chamber again represents the Buddha as Prince Siddhārtha,¹ but in this case

¹ He is also identified with the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, because in Buddhist temples, on either

the scheme is more subtle and varied than in the painting of cave XVII described above, both in regard to its intellectual and to its artistic qualities (Plate XLVII). The prince is shown here on the eve of his 'renunciation'; he is determined but still in the midst of his royal attendants and is also accompanied by his wife, whose portrait here suggests the grace of a mother rather than that of a young girl-wife.

The figure of Prince Siddhārtha does not possess the perfect anatomical symmetry of a Greek Apollo, yet it has a physical beauty all its own, shown in the broad chest, the well-developed shoulders and arms, and the handsomely set neck and head. The chief attraction of the figure is, however, its religious expression, which has made it perhaps unique among specimens of contemporary art in India and abroad. The half-closed meditative eyes, with the eyebrows slightly stretched upwards in the broad forehead, and the lips closed as if in a divine silence, indicate a majestic indifference to the charms of worldly life on the one hand and a spiritual tranquillity on the other. The high lights on the forehead, nose, and chin heighten the effect of serenity. The dress of the prince is scanty, but the garment covering the lower part of his body is of a rich material, probably of silk, with check patterns worked out in different colours. His princely dignity is asserted by the rich crown set with jewels, the necklet of pearls, the large ear-rings, the wristlets and arm-bands, and above all by a rope of pearls in which the strings have been tastefully intertwined and which is hung round the shoulders and the waist. The long black hair, which is spread in locks behind the shoulders, by the contrast of colour has made the head stand out in relief; and to produce a similar effect the artist has placed dark green dots, close to one another, behind the golden crown, so that a sort of perspective is obtained. Further, to delineate the body in the round the painter has darkened the outline of the drawing, and has also used washes of a deeper colour along the outline in contrast to the colour used for the main part of the body.

The features of the prince are Āryan, refined and elegant, but the lady who stands close to him and is probably his wife Yaśodharā has a swarthy complexion. The idea of the painter in making this difference in the complexions of Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā was apparently that Buddhism in its teaching made no distinction of colour and that the fair complexion was therefore as attractive as the dark one. Variety of racial types is further indicated in the figures of the guard and the maid in attendance, the former apparently being an Abyssinian and the latter a Persian. The maid seems to be a lady of distinction, for she is clad in a long, full-sleeved coat of blue silk or velvet, and has a crown on her head. The guard is also dressed in a long coat with tight sleeves, and has an ornamental band round his head, above which his

side of the entrance to the shrine, the figures of the Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi are generally carved or painted. The Bodhisattva in this cave holds a lotus-flower (*padma*) in his right hand.

curly hair is visible. The nose and lips of the guard are thick. Yaśodharā herself is shown wearing a tight bodice (*choli*) of a transparent, gossamer-like material, and it may be interesting to note that while the royal personages, male and female, are so scantily dressed with regard to the upper parts of their bodies, the guards or maids in attendance are generally fully clothed. This economy in the draping of the royal personages is amply compensated by the profusion of the jewellery worn by them, which, however, shows good taste in regard to design, whilst the wealth of the wearers is suggested by the size and quality of the gems.

The figure of the prince bears marks of both worldly state and religious distinction, and his expression of calm tranquillity is that of one unaffected by joy or sorrow; but the faces of Yaśodharā and of the Persian maid and the Abyssinian guard clearly reflect their depression, Yaśodharā being grieved by the idea of approaching separation from her beloved husband, and the maid and the guard at the thought of losing their royal master through his renouncement of the world. The artist has, however, planned to mitigate the general impression of sadness by showing the denizens of forest and hills in a happy mood, resulting from their delight that the prince has taken the right step in relinquishing secular honours and riches and has not been deceived by their attractions. Monkeys are frolicking about on the ledges of conventional hills; a pair of peafowls, which are to be seen a little higher, have raised their heads towards the sky and their open beaks suggest that they are crying out in joy; even a tiger has come out of his den to join the group of exultant beasts and birds. *Kinnaras*, whose bodies are half human being and half bird, and who are mythologically the musicians of heaven, are playing on harps and other musical instruments to express their rejoicing. A happy human pair have chosen a secluded corner for sipping wine and for amorous dalliance. The religious theme of the subject has combined all these different elements so judiciously that each has a significance in the entire scheme and none appears to be superfluous. The artist has also shown a highly refined taste in the choice of colours: the red of the conventional hills contrasts well with the green of the various trees, plants, and bushes growing on them, and the splashes of blue and the gleam of pearls brighten the darker tints of the human faces and forms. The painting in both its artistic and religious significance has perhaps the same importance in the history of art as the paintings of Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, or the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci at Milan, although the latter frescoes were executed some 900 years after their prototype at Ajanta.

The artists of Ajanta have painted woman in a variety of delightful poses, but her moral dignity is always maintained. She appears as a princess, a maidservant, a peasant, a nun, or even a dancing-girl, but in none of these roles has the painter made her mean or pitiful; on the contrary he has always

presented her as worthy of being admired and adored. As Indian ladies are in the habit of sitting on the ground, some of the poses may appear somewhat unusual to a European connoisseur who is not familiar with ways of life in India. For example, the pose of the lady delineated on the left wall of the front corridor in cave I may strike a European as rather uncomfortable, the legs being bent in an extraordinary manner (Plate XLVIII *a*).¹ The balance exhibited in the drawing of the head and the other parts of the body is, however, so perfect that it displays not only the suppleness of her limbs but also a happy grace of mind and manner, particularly evident in the dignity of the way in which she regards the male figure (the Bodhisattva) seated by her.

Another delightful representation of woman in cave I is the subject, styled the Black Princess, painted in the back corridor, to the right of the ante-chamber (Plate XLVIII *b*).² The contour of the body is here most graceful and the features are highly refined, whilst the delineation of the eyes is extremely realistic, the hazel-brown of the irises and the faint touches of red in the corners giving a most life-like effect. The treatment of the hair at the temples and the nape of the neck shows not only rich imagination but also marvellous brushwork. The jewellery further exhibits exquisite taste, the pearl tiara with a fine sapphire ornament in the middle being especially pleasing. For grace of poise, elegance of decorative features, and restful expression there are few paintings in the contemporary art of the world which can be regarded as on an equal footing with this masterpiece of the art of Ajanta in the fifth century A.D.

Artists during this period not only possessed consummate skill in delineating both human and animal figures in a vivid style, but their decorative genius in adorning ceilings, pedestals of columns, and door- and window-frames created patterns and motifs of kaleidoscopic variety, each exhibiting extraordinary powers of conception and a highly developed technique. The panel in the ceiling of cave I (Plate XLIX *a*) representing two freakish animals sporting with one another,³ or the parrot in the ceiling of the same cave perched on a lotus-stalk, or the *arhat* shown flying in the ceiling of cave II (Plate XLIX *b*), or the panel of fabulous animals in the hall of cave XVII (Plate L *a*), or the delightful pairs of merry-makers on the door-frame of the latter cave (Plate L *b*), as well as hundreds of other subjects similar to these, show the versatility of the artist's mind, his love of beauty, and his joyous outlook upon life.

A sensitive feeling for whimsical motifs is a distinguishing feature of the art of Ajanta in the fifth century A.D., and this tendency has often given a new complexion to otherwise more sombre religious stories. For instance, in the Viśvantara Jātaka, painted on the left wall of cave XVII, the ugly features of the avaricious Brāhman, Jūjaka, his goat-like beard, broken teeth, bald head, and cringing attitude at once evoke a smile (Plate LI *a*)

¹ *Ajanta*, i, pl. x c.

² *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiii.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix b.

and make one forget the inner cruel nature of this Brāhman as shown in the story by his inhuman treatment of the young children of Viśvantara, who had given them to him as an act of charity.¹ Similarly, the grotesque features of the monsters of Māra's army, who Satan-like wanted to turn the Buddha aside from the attainment of enlightenment, change the serious religious effect of the scene and add to it an incongruously comic element. For example, who will not be diverted by the red monster with a large head and small body, who is glaring fiercely and opening his mouth with his little fingers as if to frighten the Buddha? A white owl is perched on the head of this monster: in India the owl is considered to be the harbinger of ill fortune.

Some critics have complained of the lack of perspective in the paintings of Ajanta. This may be true to a certain extent of the earlier frescoes, but in the fifth century A.D. the painter understood how to convey the idea of depth or distance in his work. In the *Abhisheka* scene, painted in the back corridor of cave I, the drawing of the pillared hall shows that the artist was by then familiar with perspective since he has admirably conveyed the idea of distance in the drawing of the pillars. Similarly, on the right wall of cave XVI, in the birth-scene of the Buddha, wherein Māyā is shown lying on a couch in a circular pavilion, the drawing of the pavilion is perfect (Plate LI *b*), and it is apparent that one who did not possess a sense of perspective could not have drawn a circular object so accurately. But it is not for such petty distinctions that the art of Ajanta of the fifth century A.D. is to be admired. The skill of the painter should on the other hand be appreciated in the charming sweeps of the brush line, comprising subtle curves and undulations; in the lovely contrasts of colours, whether bright or dark, all suggesting a refined taste; in the large variety of poses showing the keen observation of the artist and his delight in the manifold phases of life; in the vivid expressions of the human figures, and in the exquisite decorative work, such as is to be seen in the lovely coiffures of the ladies, or the beautiful designs of their jewellery and dress; or in the fascinating representations of flowers, birds, and animals, real or mythological. The grouping of figures may appear bewildering to one unacquainted with Indian life, but each figure or design has its own significance in the telling of the story, and if any one of them were omitted the story would lose its zest.

In the sixth century A.D. the Vākātakas were succeeded by the Chālukyas as rulers of the Deccan. The Chālukyas professed the Brāhmanic faith, but in the beginning they were not only tolerant to the votaries of the Buddhist religion but emulated them in the styles of their rock-hewn architecture and painting. The temples carved by them in the living rock at their capital Vātāpi, modern Bādāmi, exist to this day, and although they contain Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite sculpture, yet their architectural style is in imitation of that of a Buddhist *vihāra*, and one of these cave-temples, cave No. 3, bears traces

¹ For the full story see *Jātaka* (English Translation), vi. 246-303, Cambridge edition.

of painting which are analogous in style to those of Ajanta (Plate LII *a*). But a strict observer cannot help remarking that the paintings of Bādāmi, though not much later in date than those of caves I and XVII of Ajanta, show a distinct falling off in the standard; the elegance of the features, the vividness of expression, and the freshness of the colours have all appreciably deteriorated, and artistic fancy and creative effort are replaced by insipid conventionality and soulless imitation. The sixth-century paintings of Ajanta itself, as shown on the pillars, ceilings, and friezes of caves IX and X, comprise floral designs of a stereotyped pattern, or the representations of the Buddha in the teaching attitude, seated on a throne and attended by two *chauri*-bearers, one on each side. The latter figures convey religious dignity to a certain extent, yet by frequent repetition they become monotonous, and further, such themes betray a lack of freedom and narrowness of vision in artistic effort. The apparent reason why the artists abandoned the wider field of the *jātakas* which allowed full opportunity for the display of their powerful imaginations and superior technical skill, was that the ruling class and their officials professed a different religion and had therefore no interest in themes which reflected the glory of Buddhism; while such subjects as gods or kings seated on richly bedecked thrones and accompanied by princely attendants suited the idea of the majesty and grandeur of their own faith. Representations of this class are found in great abundance both in Buddhist and Hindu art from the latter part of the sixth century A.D. onwards, and notable imitations of them may be seen in the murals of Padmanābhapuram in Travancore State, which belong to the eighteenth century or even later.

In cave XXVI, which is supposed to be one of the latest caves at Ajanta, there are inscriptions which palaeographically cannot be assigned to a later period than the sixth century A.D., and it appears that for political reasons the monasteries and the temples of Ajanta lost their religious importance about this period although Buddhism survived at Ellora for another century, i.e. down to the close of the seventh century A.D., or even somewhat later. In the ceilings of the Buddhist temples and monasteries of Ellora there are traces of painting, but the designs are of a set type, representing floral and creeper patterns, geometric devices, including the key-pattern in several forms, jewellery designs, and wood-work motifs, all of which can be seen in their original forms on the ceilings of the earlier temples at Ajanta. The colours at Ellora are dull and insipid, perhaps owing to deterioration caused by weather conditions, since the caves of Ellora are more exposed to the sun and the rains of the monsoon than are those of their rivals at Ajanta.

In the ceiling of the porch of the great Brāhmanic temple, Kailāsa, there are some layers of painting which may be contemporaneous with the original cutting of the temple, about the middle of the eighth century A.D., or a little later. In one of them a Brāhmanic deity is represented in the act of adoration (Plate LII *b*). He is riding on a *śārdūla*, a mythical monster with the head,

mane and paws of a lion, and the horns of a bull or a buffalo. The head of this god bears a striking resemblance, both in conception and treatment, to the heads of the Bodhisattvas in the earlier paintings at Ajanta, but the other figures of this painting have been shown in such ugly attitudes that the beauty of feature and the religious expression conveyed in the delineation of the heads have lost their effect owing to the uncouthness of the poses. The treatment of the limbs further exhibits a disproportionate attenuation; and the conventional forms of clouds, though copied from Ajanta, add in this subject to the general crudeness of the scheme. The colours also do not show a refined taste and the deterioration of the artistic sense is felt in every feature of the painting.

In a circular band on the ceiling of the above-mentioned porch, another design may be noticed in which Yama and his consort are shown riding on a buffalo. There are two attendants in front of the buffalo, and some other figures behind the animal. The treatment of the hair, particularly the coiffures of the women, is in the Ajanta style, but the angular curves of the elbows and knees and the ghastly stare of the eyes show that the artist has lost his skill in giving proper shape to the limbs and appropriate expression to the faces. As the paintings of Kailāsa have been found in several layers, one above the other, it appears that the paintings of the temple were executed at different periods, and the picture representing Yama should doubtless because of its debased style be assigned to the ninth or tenth century A.D.

In the porch of the Kailāsa are some more paintings executed on the architraves below the ceiling. Their date can be fixed with greater certainty, for they contain inscriptions mentioning the Paramāras of Malwa, who wielded much authority during the twelfth century A.D.¹ The paintings of the architraves represent battle-scenes which both in spirit and technique appear to be allied to the North Indian (Rājput) paintings, and their connexion with Ajanta seems to be somewhat remote (Plate LIII *a*). The drawing of the elephant in these subjects suggests rapid movement, but the figures of the horses have become rather conventional owing to the artist's freakish fancy in painting them all in a rearing attitude.

At Ellora the ceilings of the Indra Sabhā group of Jaina temples are also adorned with painting, and the representations of the *apsaras* as shown therein are more akin to their prototypes at Ajanta than to their parallels in the Brāhmanic cave at Kailāsa described above. Owing to the heat of fires kindled for domestic as well as religious purposes, and the blackening effect of smoke, the original colours of these paintings have suffered much, but in places where they are in a comparatively better state of preservation the colours show the fondness of the artist for the use of vermillion (Plate LIII *b*).

¹ For a description of these paintings see the author's paper, *The Fresco Paintings of Ellora* (p. 9), read before the XVIIth International Oriental Congress, held at Oxford, 1928, also the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad*, 1933-4, pl. i.

The figures of the *apsaras* with dark brown or swarthy complexions floating in the midst of the scarlet clouds of the evening appear with considerable perspective effect, and the grace of their limbs and the charm of their jewellery and dress, however scanty, are also admirably represented. Jaina artists were good copyists, and as the spirit of their religion has much in common with that of the Buddhist faith, the figures of the *apsaras* in the ceilings of the Indra Sabhā suggest almost the same beauty of pose, grace of movement, and love of decorative detail as one notices in the figures of the *apsaras* painted in the monasteries of Ajanta. The art of Ellora is, however, purely imitative and does not show any creative power. In the chapter on sculpture it has already been stated that the Jaina group of Ellora caves was hewn during the ninth century A.D.¹ and the painting of the ceilings of the Indra Sabhā appears to belong to the same period.

In concluding this brief survey of the painting of the Deccan it should be observed that the art of the country in the best period of its history is essentially Buddhist, both in spirit and in its outlook upon life. It must have originated, as has been stated above (p. 763), many centuries earlier than the advent of the Buddhist missionaries,² but the humane teaching of this faith and the doctrine of unity binding the different aspects of nature into a common organism, inculcated in the sacred Buddhist literature, inspired the artist with visions embracing every phenomenon of the physical and the spiritual worlds. The majestic elephant, the beautiful swan, or the care-free deer with their nimble movements, the mischievous monkey, or even the venomous serpent, are all alike, as members of the family of life, capable of showing forth the divine qualities of sympathy and mercy. In the artist's themes they are represented with all their natural characteristics, proving a close study of their instincts and physical features. The *rājās* and *rānīs* play the religious role, but are pictured with all the desires and inclinations, and in all the adventures, of their normal life, including hunting expeditions, love episodes, the life of exiles in the forest, battle-scenes, and the gay life of the court.

The domestic life of the ordinary people is also fully represented, and the artist has shown the same zest in delineating their bamboo huts and earthen utensils as he has in depicting the gorgeous pavilions of royalty with all their paraphernalia. The beauty of trees and natural scenery made a special appeal to his imagination, because the Buddha had attained enlightenment sitting under a banyan tree, while several other stately trees are associated with him in his previous incarnations, or in his next life as Maitreya. The painter has therefore delineated them in a variety of styles, in their spring grandeur, and also in autumnal beauty with red and pale brown leaves.

¹ *Supra*, p. 757.

² In the Raichur District, since A.D. 1914, three Aśoka edicts have been discovered, one at Maski and the remaining two at Kopbal, both places being situated in the ancient gold area of the Deccan. For further information regarding these edicts see Monographs Nos. 1 and 10 of the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*.

Human emotion is the salient feature of the art of Ajanta; but the religious element has given it on the whole a solemn tone and there is no air of wantonness in the entire panorama of Ajanta paintings. There are lovely women daintily arrayed and shown in delightful poses but the environment is instinct with the tears of things, and the dread solemnities of life are ever felt as present in the background. The subtle pattern of life has been executed with sympathy and love, with all its dark shades of pain and sorrow, anguish and disappointment, and its bright colours of joy and ecstasy, glory and success, controlled by a divine law, but responsive to the longings and needs of man through the power of religious faith and devotion.

The standards of beauty of the human body do not of course coincide with those of Europe in the classical period, but the drawing of the Ajanta figures is not less effective than that of their European prototypes in regard to feminine grace of form and charm of pose, or masculine vigour and strength, activity and effort. In vividness of expression generally, and in religious feeling in particular, the paintings of Ajanta far excel their contemporaneous rivals in Europe. Such technical details as 'cast shadows' are rarely to be seen at Ajanta, but in the ceiling of cave II the cherubs, plump, rosy *gaṇas*, at the four corners, have their necks below the chin painted in vermillion of a dark shade which contrasts with the fair complexion of their faces to give rounded effect.¹

The high level of intellectual and technical development in the art of painting attained near the end of the fifth century began to lose its excellence about the middle of the sixth century A.D., when Ajanta gave place to Vātāpī, with a new dynasty professing a different faith. At Ellora in the work of another dynasty, the Rāshtrakūṭas, an after-glow of the art of Ajanta may be seen, but it had lost its splendour and was soon to fade. An aftermath is also to be noticed in the ceilings of the Indra Sabhā and Jagannātha Sabhā at Ellora, and that was perhaps its last phase in the Deccan.

'The glories of this art shone forth in far distant lands, in the rugged mountains of Afghanistan, in the lonely deserts of Central Asia, in the age-worn cultural climes of China and in the sea-girt lands of Ceylon, Java and Japan, but in the Deccan, the province of its own birth, its light grew dim by the eighth century A.D.,² and we see the last flickering of it in the frescoes of Aurangabad and Ellora.'³

¹ See *Ajanta*, ii, pl. xxx.

² The wall-paintings of Bāgh in the Gwalior State and of Sittannavāsai in the Pudukottai State show the influence of the art of Ajanta in Malwa and Southern India. The paintings of Bāgh, being earlier (fifth or sixth century A.D.), exhibit the art in a more vigorous form than do the murals of Sittannavāsai, which have been assigned by experts to the seventh century A.D.

³ G. Yazdani, *Indian Art of the Buddhist Period*, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 14.

APPENDIX A

TERRACOTTAS

THE potter's craft, like that of the goldsmith, seems to have been intimately connected with the art of sculpture in ancient times. Potter and sculptor apparently had common religious ideals, and often executed identical or similar forms and artistic motifs through different mediums, the sculptor's being stone or metal or wood, and the potter's clay, which was baked and finally finished with slips in different shades.

In the excavations carried out at ancient religious sites in the Deccan terracotta figurines have been found in great abundance, notably at Kondāpur, a village some forty-three miles west-north-west of Hyderabad. It was apparently one of the thirty walled towns to which Pliny has referred in his work, because coins and other relics showing a well-developed culture have been discovered there in very large numbers. The number of terracotta figurines alone amounts to several hundred. These statuettes represent Bodhisattvas, *yakshas*, *yakshinīs*, and other religious or semi-religious beings (Plate LIV *a-d*). Animals are also represented, and they include the bull, the horse, and the ram among tame animals, and the lion among wild ones (Plate LV *a-c*). The figure of a parrot has also been found. Among other articles discovered are pieces of pottery with ornamental designs. They are very slender in manufacture with artistic shapes and fine polish. Some pieces on examination show that they were made of kaolin, while others are of fine reddish clays. The ware was coated with slips of varying thickness, the colours of the slips being cream or light pink. The designs worked out on the ware are very pleasing; besides ornamental motifs, there are several religious symbols, one of them being a half-opened lotus shown at the left hand in the third row on Plate LVI. Another represents the sacred wheel, to be seen in the fourth row, second from the right, and another the fully opened lotus blossom which occurs so frequently on the sculpture of Amarāvati, with which the antiquities of Kondāpur seem to be contemporary.

The figurines representing deities or religious personages are made of kaolin, and show fine modelling and delightful lines. As the features of these deities are non-Āryan, with thick short noses, thick lips, and round or oval faces, the potter had apparently people of his own stock in mind when he moulded the figures of the gods. The hair and head-gear are more conventional than realistic. In Plate LIV *a* the hair of the figure representing a Bodhisattva is shown in traditional stiff coils, a fashion which had become an essential feature of the hair of the Buddha in Northern India from about the second century A.D., and which reached the Deccan in that period or perhaps a century later. The other head in the same Plate (LIV *b*), representing another Bodhisattva or a *yaksha*, has a very elaborate head-gear; but the salient feature of this statuette is the look of innocence and serenity so admirably expressed by the face. In Plate LIV *c-d* two different personages are represented whose head-gear is of different types; the expressions of their faces speak of inward serenity. One of them has a smile on his lips. Another figure has his hair dressed straight down to his ears and neck and finally curled

up in a roll. This style of dressing the hair is more prominent in the two heads reproduced in the lower half of Plate LVII. The broad, prominent noses as well as the style of dressing the hair are reminiscent in these two figures of the representations of dandified fools and drunkards sometimes found in European art, as in the illuminated margins of medieval manuscripts, the stone carvings of gargoyles in cathedrals and churches, or the later didactic paintings of Hogarth. There is even a possibility that the craftsmen of the Deccan copied such features from contemporary Roman classical models, because at Kondāpur several baked clay ornaments on which the figures of Roman coins are impressed have been found; and there is literary evidence also to prove that a large trade was carried on between the Deccan and Mediterranean countries through the ancient port of Barygaza (modern Bharoch) on the western coast of India.¹

The head of a Bodhisattva in Plate LVII *a* is modelled like many other Deccanese sculptures of the fifth century A.D., but the thick nose of Dravidian type shows it to be of earlier origin, some time in the third. The repose and internal calm of this figure are marvellous. The bulky *yakṣha* (Plate LVIII *a-b*) represented with elaborate head-gear may be Kuvera, who was a popular god among the Buddhists during the early centuries of the Christian era. The style of the ornamentation of the head-gear resembles to some extent that of the decoration of the head-dresses of Saka or Parthian donors of cave-temples in Western India, whose statues may be seen at Koṇḍāne and other Buddhist religious sites (Plate XXIII).²

The terracottas representing animal figures show neat workmanship and a definite trend towards realism. The head of the ram (Plate LV *b*) is a good example of the latter tendency, although the rolls of wool around the animal's neck have made the presentation somewhat conventional. The mane of the lion (Plate LV *a*) has somewhat the same stereotyped effect. The figure of the lion in general is rather dumpy, as are also the representations of the horse and the bull. The short, thick horns of the bull, its muzzle, and neck ornaments resemble very closely those of the bulls (*nandis*) of the Śaivite temples of Telīṅgāna of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, and it appears that the traditions regarding the above features established by the potters of the early centuries of the Christian era were followed by the sculptors of the Deccan for over a millennium afterwards.

At Kondāpur terracotta figurines of a primitive type have also been found; they represent Hārītī and the mother goddess, Earth (Plate LVIII *c-d*), the latter having been found in very large numbers. Their workmanship is somewhat crude, and they are made of red earth, being solid in form in contrast to the kaolin figurines described above, which are hollow and were made in moulds.

In the excavations which have been carried out by the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad at Paiṭhan and Maskī a considerable number of terracotta figurines has been discovered, but they do not exhibit that fine craftsmanship which is to be noticed in the Kondāpur statuettes. The elaborate style of dressing and decorating the hair, as shown in these terracottas at Maskī and Paiṭhan, closely resembles the style of some of the early sculptures of the Buddhist *vihāras*, notably that of the head-dress of the figure carved at Bhājā.

¹ Pliny, xii, 84. Strabo reports that 120 ships sailed from Myos-hormos for India, when Gallus was prefect in Egypt (25 A.C.).

² See also J. Burgess, 'Buddhist Cave Temples', *A.S.W.I.*, 1883, p. 9.

The pooriness of material, the insignificant size, and the frail nature of the terracottas are obvious defects because of which they can hardly be considered as definitely works of art, but none can deny the skill of the craftsmen in giving the figurines such vivid expressions, or in shaping them with such realistic effect.

APPENDIX B

THE ART OF DANCING AS REPRESENTED IN THE
SCULPTURE AND PAINTING OF THE DECCAN

REFERENCES have already been made to certain dancing scenes in the sections of this chapter on Sculpture and Painting.¹ Similar references may also have been made by other contributors to this volume who deal with the cultural and literary activities of the Deccan in the early period. The object of the present note is to familiarize the student with certain phases of dancing as it was actually practised, and as it is shown in the sculpture or painting of the Deccan. The history of Indian dancing based on literature or tradition is, however, not to be found in this essay, and the student must look for it in standard books on the subject.²

The sculptures of the *chaitya*-caves at Konḍāne and Kārle belong to roughly the same period, that is the first or second century A.C.; and these sculptures are also contemporary with, or slightly later than, the painting on the left wall of the *chaitya*-cave (No. 10) at Ajanta, which on palaeographic grounds has been assigned to the early part of the second century A.C.³ As the dancing steps and attitudes of the performers in the latter painting are not so clear there as in the sculptures at Konḍāne and Kārle, it will be advantageous to the student if the steps and poses shown at the latter sites are studied first.

At Konḍāne the art, as represented in Plates IV-V, is of a primitive type, comprising only leaping and whirling such as is to be seen in the dances of primitive tribes in India and its borderlands to this day. The four episodes carved at Konḍāne however exhibit a considerably developed art in which reciprocity and balance are admirably maintained, both in the graceful movements of the limbs of the performers and in the attractive display of their emotional gestures. In subject (a) there are three artistes, the man being in the middle, with two women, one on each side of him. The swing and movement suggested by the bodies of the male dancer and the woman on his left are in happy consonance with their hints of amorous dalliance; the man stretches out his arm to caress the chin of the woman with his hand, while she has coquettishly lowered hers to finger the fringe of his girdle. The other arm of this woman is gracefully moulded with the hand on the hip. The bent knees of both figures suggest movement, as if they are dancing—perhaps taking alternate steps forward and backward like a swinging pendulum. The third artiste in this panel, to the left of the male figure, is also dancing but seems to be executing a figure of her own. She is, however, evidently a part of the group of

¹ *Supra*, pp. 744-5, 759.² Like Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*.³ *Supra*, p. 762.

three since she has her hand on the bow-string of the male dancer. She may have been taking short steps forward and backward, or moving in a semi-circle while keeping her hold on the bow-string and thus her connexion with the other two in the dance.

In panel (*b*) the male artiste appears with one female dancer only, who has grasped his sash in the movement of the dance. That the man is a soldier was indicated by the bow in panel (*a*) and is shown in this panel by a heavy mace or club which he carries. The inclination of the heads of both figures and the way in which their arms are stretched out towards one another suggest graceful dalliance and convey a sense of balanced poise, while the bent knees and pressure of the body on the toes might be the prelude to any movement from the rhythmic easy step of a minuet to the swift whirl of a reel or a polka.

In panel V *a* the male artiste has occupied the alternate position, keeping the woman dancer to his left and inclining his own head towards her and also holding her waist-girdle with his outstretched hand. The poise of the male figure in this panel suggests violent activity, while the woman when left alone by her partner in the course of the dance would have floated softly with a graceful, swan-like movement.

In panel V *b* the male dancer appears alone; he has a square shield tied to his arm. His left arm is gracefully curved, and he has bent his left leg and placed it behind the right in such a manner that the toes of his left foot rest on those of the right. The right leg and foot are placed firmly on the ground and the entire body seems to rock on it in a most attractively graceful fashion. This may be a special dancing step, or an accepted way of acknowledging the applause of the spectators, since it is evidently the final episode of the performance shown in the previous three panels.

The dancer has a smile on his face, and as his features as well as his accoutrements are completely non-Āryan, it is interesting to note that dancing was clearly a well-developed art among the people of the Deccan even in the centuries preceding the Christian era, since it has already been pointed out that the *chaitya*-cave at Kondāne was hewn at some time during the second century B.C.¹

On the façade of the *chaitya* at Kārle, which is nearly the same age as its rival at Kondāne, are carved figures of dancers in twelve panels. It will not be possible, owing to limitations of space, to describe them all here, but four of them which most vividly exhibit grace of poise and agility of movement are studied below. The dancers appear in pairs of male and female figures. They are aborigines, as is shown by their costumes and ornaments. The male figures have narrow pieces of cloth wound round their heads like turbans or pugarees; their loin-cloths are also very narrow, but artistically draped, and the scarfs round the arms and shoulders of all the figures are tastefully arranged. The ornaments are heavy and solid but plentiful, matching the exuberant spirit of the dancers (Plate XXIV *a-b*).

The use of heavy anklets by Indian women from their girlhood has perhaps an adverse effect on the shape of their legs, and this may be the reason why they are generally represented as disproportionately thin in their lower part both in the sculpture and the painting of the Deccan, particularly in the early period (Plate XXVIII *b*).

¹ *Supra*, p. 717.

In Plate XXIV *a* both the man and the woman have curved their bodies, but the position of their legs suggests active movement, some kind of one- or two-step or fox-trot. Their arms are placed fondly round each other's shoulders and the inclination of the head of the woman with the expression of contentment to be noticed on her face is very effective. She is wearing a large set of ivory or conch bangles round her wrists,¹ and heavy metal anklets above her feet. The five-string ornament round her waist is attractively executed.

The next subject (Plate XXIV *b*) perhaps represents reversing in the dance; the woman dancer who was on the left of her male companion in the last scene is now on his right. She has raised her arms and joined her hands to suggest that she is tired of her partner and desires to run away, although he is still clasping her. In the mimic struggle her dress has become disarranged, a device to suggest sexual feeling.

The third subject (Plate LIX *a*) shows the pair again dancing. The woman's steps, from the poise shown, appear to be short but quick, the man's comparatively long but slow. The woman has placed her arm round the waist of her male partner to maintain her balance in dancing, while with the other hand she has raised her head-scarf, or ornament, to suggest an emotional mood. The male dancer has placed his arm in a caress round the shoulders of his partner while his bent head suggests that he reciprocates her advances.

The last subject (Plate LIX *b*) shows both the figures as if they have just come to a halt, their poses showing that the dance is that moment over. The waist ornament of the woman and the cloth girdle of the man have been disarranged by the movement of dancing. The girl wears an expression of pleasure and happiness while her companion's features also show enjoyment. He holds a bouquet or a large lotus flower in his left hand. Among the ornaments of the woman the anklets especially are extremely thick and heavy.

The earliest painting at Ajanta in which dancing is represented is that on the left wall of cave X, which, as was stated above, belongs to the second century B.C., if not earlier.² The painting has a religious significance, for the dancing is shown near the Bodhi-tree under which Gautama received the enlightenment. There are fifteen artistes, of whom three are dancers and the rest musicians. They are all female. These women apparently belong to the orchestra attached to the monastery in the garden of which the Bodhi-tree is shown. Two of the musicians have long trumpets, which may be either of horn or of metal. The others are clapping their hands, an action which is still used in India and other oriental countries to mark time, or to produce the high pitch effect in music. Among the dancers one has raised and curved her arms in a style which suggests that she is about to revolve on her toes. The other two have inclined their bodies on one side by bending one leg, and have curved their right arms gracefully upwards and placed the tips of their thumbs on their heads, while the left hand is placed on the hip on the same side, the object being primarily to keep the balance of the body while dancing in short wavy steps, and also to produce an effective pose by making two beautiful loops (or curves), one with the right arm and the other with the left. Just this pose and just such steps are quite common in India and may be observed in the dancing of the present day,

¹ Such sets of ivory bangles are still worn in the Deccan by Lambāḍa women and other primitive peoples.

² *Ajanta*, pt. iii, p. 1, n. 1.

but it is interesting to note that they were practised in the second century B.C. and must have originated still earlier.

Dancing in the same style is shown in a clearer manner in an episode of the Mahājanaka Jātaka, painted on the left wall of cave I, which is some seven centuries later than cave X. In this subject the dancer is wearing a skirt of striped silk and a full-sleeved jacket of brocade or some other embroidered stuff (Plate LX a). Her ornaments include rich jewels and her crown and hair decoration further suggest that dancing-girls received handsome fees for their performances. The pose of the artiste in this subject is almost the same as that of the two dancers in cave X, but the curves of her arms, wrists, and hands suggest an emotional intensity, evidently in accord with the movement of the other parts of the body, which shows a distinct advance upon the previous ideals and psychology of the art. The dancer has a band of musicians to help her in the performance; they are again all women. Two of them are playing cymbals, one a pair of *ṭablas* (tympanum drums), another the *mirdang* (a double drum with a narrow ring between the two parts), and a third a guitar or some other stringed instrument with a bowl at the end, and two flutes. The variety of musical instruments also shows development in the art of music. The two drums pictured in this painting have the usual leather strips round their bowls, such as are to be noticed tied on the *ṭablas* even at the present time. Sir C. V. Raman, the eminent physicist, is of the opinion that the Indian *ṭabla* was the first instrument of its kind from which all the seven notes of music could be produced, and that this effect was secured by dividing the top leather covering into three circular bands, brown, white, and black, each of varying thickness. Further, for the purpose of stretching the top leather, sixteen strings were tied round the bowl of the *ṭabla*. This drum travelled to the West from the East, and although the seven notes of music can be produced by the kettle-drum, or tympanum-drum, and although Beethoven has also used a tympanum-drum as an independent instrument of music, yet in India the *ṭabla* was used much earlier, as is shown in this painting of the fifth century A.D.

In cave I there is another dance-scene delineated on the left wall of the front gallery. The painting is much damaged but the figures of two dancers can easily be made out (Plate LX b). The performance is shown as taking place in a royal pavilion in which a Nāga king and queen are seated on a cushion in a mood of dalliance, and a large number of maidservants and male guards are either occupied in serving refreshments (?) or watching the dance. A princely person dressed in a long coat of embroidered stuff, among the designs of which the figures of geese and oxen can be made out, may be seen sitting between two pillars on the opposite side to the Nāga king and his royal consort.

The steps of the dancer near the Nāga pair are not clear to us because she has moved behind the cushion to let the pair have full privacy in their love-making. But her raised arm, and the hand, in which she holds a short stick, indicate that she is still dancing, while a mischievous side-long glance of her eyes suggests that she is showing amusement at the conduct of the royal pair.

The principal dancer may be seen near the feet of the Nāga queen, but the face of the artiste is towards the chief dressed in the long embroidered coat. The lower part of the body of the dancer is considerably damaged in the original painting, but the right hand placed on the hip, and the right leg bent at the knee and raised

up to the knee of the left leg can easily be made out, and suggest that the dancer had poised herself on one foot, in readiness for a sinuous undulating movement. The head of the dancer is charmingly posed in this painting.

About a century later than the two dance-scenes of cave I at Ajanta, described above, is the Aurangābād sculpture of cave VII, which represents a group of seven artistes, of whom the one in the middle is a dancer. As the subject is carved in the shrine of a monastery, it would seemingly represent a performance which was in vogue in Buddhist temples as a part of the ritual on the occasion of certain feasts. The sculpture has much in common, in regard to the pose of the dancer and the musical instruments of the orchestra, with the dance scene painted on the wall of the left corridor of cave I at Ajanta (Plate LXI *a*). The artistic dress of the dancer noticed in the Ajanta painting is, however, not to be seen in this sculpture, but the poise of the body and the suggestion of movement are more effective in the sculpture than in the painting. The dancer has only the toes of her right foot touching the ground, but the right leg, although bent at the knee, would have supported the body when the dancer moved herself in graceful curves, and took steps forwards and backwards, or sideways. The musical instruments shown in this group are the cymbals, the flute, the pair of *ṭablas*, and a round drum.

Under the influence of Śaktism the organizations of dancers and musicians attached to the Brāhmanic temples developed both in magnitude and artistic qualities during the medieval period (eighth to thirteenth centuries), and large numbers of most lovely dance-poses may be seen on the exteriors of temples in the Deccan. The Great Temple at Pālampet, which was built during the reign of the Kākatīya king, Gaṇapati, in A.D. 1213, has figure-brackets representing female dancers in characteristic attitudes.¹ Four of these sculptures, which are of black stone of a close-grained variety, will be described here. Emotional gestures, which are an essential adjunct of the art of dancing in India, are shown with much effect in these representations. In Plate XXXVIII *b* the curves of the body alternate rhythmically; the loop made by the right arm, which is raised, is balanced by the curve of the left arm, which slants in the opposite direction; similarly the curve of the right leg, which has been made by raising the foot, is matched by the outward inclination of the hip on the left side and the bend of the left leg. The exquisite manicured fingers with their delicate movements, suggestive of an emotional temperament, and their symbolic bendings, add to the artistic effect of the pose; and the attitude of the body appears to have changed at each step taken by the dancer.

Subject (2) perhaps represents the second step in the course of the dance, because in this representation (Plate XXXIX *a*) the artiste has raised and bent her left leg instead of the right, as in the previous subject. Her two arms are raised and the fingers are spread and joined in a most expressively charming way. The beauty of a slender, pliant waist and well-developed breasts is accentuated by the curving, wavy line of the entire body, which rises and falls with gentle and sinuous grace.

The third subject (Plate XXXIX *b*) evidently represents an intermediate step, in which the dancer has curved her right leg in front of the left; but only her toes rest on the ground, the heel being raised above it. The gesture made with the fingers is significant and apparently corresponds to the meaning of the steps as

¹ *Supra*, p. 759.

part of an artistic pattern. The fourth subject (Plate LXI *b*) also represents a dancer, whose lower garment has slipped down in dancing, while a mischievous little monkey is pulling at it. The representation may possibly have some mythical reference, but to a layman the subject seems to be unpleasingly erotic, and sculptures demonstrating sexual love are indeed to be seen in great abundance on medieval Brāhmanic temples; in the Great Temple at Pālampet also, described above, there exists a vast array of *maithuna* pairs, most of them in indecent attitudes. Otherwise the lines of the body of this particular dancer are so drawn as to give a rhythmic effect.

The art of dancing reached its high-water mark in the Deccan in the thirteenth century A.D., and although it has survived in some of the South Indian States up to the present day, much of its grace and vitality are lost. Only the semblance still exists; the spirit has vanished.

PART XI

THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN

by PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT.

I. Introduction; Punch-marked coins; Roman coins.

II. Sātavāhana Coinage; Early Sātavāhana Rulers, the different types of their coins—coins of Sāti, Sātakana or Satakani (Elephant type, Lion type, Bull type, Homo type); coins of Apilaka and Meghasvāti. Later Sātavāhanas; Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's coins, popular type in potin issues, an Elephant with upraised trunk and legend on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse; some coins bear an Elephant on the obverse and a Tree on the reverse; some lead and potin coins have a Lion or an Elephant on one side and the Ujjain symbol or a Tree on the other; this king also counterstruck the silver coins of Nahapāna with Chaitya, having the former's legend on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other. Vasishṭhiputra Puṣumāvi, his coins being generally of the Elephant and Chaitya type, but the round lead coins bear a Three-arched Hill and the legend on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. A silver coin of this king has been found in Bhelsa. Śivaśrī, his lead coins found in *Āndhra-dēśa* bear a Three-arched Hill and a River with the legend on the obverse and the decorative Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, one coin bears the Three-arched Hill and the Ujjain symbol, and another a Horse to the right and the Ujjain symbol. Yājñaśrī Sātakarṇi issued coins of different types—one type shows a Three-arched or Six-arched Hill together with other symbols on the obverse, and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Another type has a Horse on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Sometimes the Horse has a Crescent above it. A third type shows an Elephant, with the trunk hanging down, on the obverse. He also issued coins of the Vidarbha type and lead coins with the symbol of a Ship with two Masts. This king issued silver coins as well, their type being imitated from the Kshatrapa coinage. Vijaya and Chandaśrī Sātakarṇi, the coins of both show the Elephant with upraised trunk on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.

III. Post-Sātavāhana Coinage—Introduction, (1) Early Gold Coins, (2) The Ikshvāku Coinage, (3) The Vākātaka Coinage, (4) The Śālaṅkāyana Coinage, (5) The Coinage of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, (6) The Coinage of the Rāshtrakūṭas, (7) The Coinage of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, (8) The Kalachuri Coinage, (9) The Coinage of the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅḡi, (10) The Coinage of the Yādavas, (11) The Coinage of the Silāhāras, (12) The Coinage of the Kadambas, and (13) The Coinage of the Kākatīyas.

THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN

(c. 400 B.C. to c. A.D. 1300)

I

INTRODUCTION

IN the present chapter we propose to make a survey of the coinage of the Deccan from c. 400 B.C. to c. A.D. 1300, which is the period covered by this volume of the *History of the Deccan*. The Deccan and Southern India are remarkably rich in epigraphical material bearing on their history; the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas, the Vākātakas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the Yādavas are much more numerous than those of their contemporaries in the north, the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas, the Guptas and the Vardhanas, the Pratihāras and the Gāhaḍavālas. In the realm of sculpture and also in that of architecture, art made striking progress in Deccan and Southern India, but strangely enough it had little influence on the coinage. In this realm the North can well claim superiority over the Deccan. Not a single dynasty of the Deccan or of Southern India produced a coin series which can compare with the Gupta coinage in artistic beauty, variety, and fine workmanship.

The Sātavāhana coinage is numerous, but it is generally crude. The Vākātakas and the Rāshtrakūṭas do not appear to have issued any coins at all; the coinage of the Chālukyas is scarce and intermittent. The Yādavas indeed did issue a regular series of coins in gold, but these have been handed down only in very small quantities. The gold coins of the Chālukyas and of the Yādavas can only have been employed in big monetary transactions. The ordinary man of the Deccan did not, it would seem, derive much benefit from the coinage which the different states issued from time to time. He apparently had to carry on his daily business by means of barter and with the help of cowries. However, we come across silver punch-marked coins in the Deccan, and the Sātavāhanas minted a great mass of coinage in lead and in copper. These latter types may well have been used in some daily transactions.

Punch-marked coins

The earliest coinage of the Deccan probably consisted of silver punch-marked money.¹ The antiquity of this medium of exchange was once referred

¹ As in Northern India, the Deccan had no punch-marked coins in gold. There were small gold spherules in circulation with minute marks on the obverse, which will be referred to later (p. 799); but they cannot strictly be called punch-marked coins. In Gibb's collection there was a gold coin about 1 in. in diameter and 57·2 grains in weight, which had several punched marks such as an Arrow-head, a Cross, a Conch, two *Śrīs*, &c. (Elliot, Pl. II, 60). But the presence of two *śrīs* shows that the coin does not belong to any regular punch-marked series. Copper punch-marked coins have not so far been found in the Deccan.

to prehistoric times on the strength of such coins having been found in megalithic tombs. But subsequent evidence has shown that the money found in these tombs sometimes included not only punch-marked pieces but also Roman coins, making it quite clear that not all such megalithic constructions could be dated back to prehistoric times. The antiquity of the punch-marked coinage of the Deccan and Southern India cannot thus be assigned to a date earlier than that of the punch-marked coinage of Northern India; they were in fact probably not struck earlier than c. 500 B.C.

Hoard of punch-marked coins have been found in the Deccan at Singavaram and Gudivādā in the Krishna district; at Venna, Bhimlipattan, and Rothulpalem in the Vizagapattan district; at Karmanehi in the Kurnul district; at Karimnagar in the Hyderabad State; at Shinhi in the Kolhapur district, and at Sultanpur near Wai in the Satara district.

Among these hoards, the Sultanpur find is especially unusual and distinctive; it consists entirely of silver coins, double, single, and half-Kārshāpaṇas being the denominations. They have only one large symbol on the obverse and none on the reverse (Pl. LXII, 1-2). The weight of these coins is 50 and 49.5 grains respectively. These coins are usually regarded as early, but their precise date is difficult to determine.

The silver punch-marked coins of the Singavaram hoard, believed to have been discovered in 1934, were apparently 40,000 in number. The hoard is said to have filled a pit 3 × 3 ft. in dimension. But only seventy-one coins could eventually be procured for the collection in the Madras Museum. If these are truly representative of the hoard, we may conclude that all the coins were probably half-Kārshāpaṇas in denomination; their weight varies from 20 to 30 grains. These coins constitute a variety peculiar to Āndhra-deśa. They are thin and struck in *repoussé*; thus the symbols are convex in appearance and the coins have become cup-shaped.¹ The number of symbols on these coins is four and not five (Pl. LXII, 3-4). On Pl. LXII, 3 we have Elephant at the top and two Bulls yoked to a plough at the bottom; on either side there is a Knob with circles or crescents around. On Pl. LXII, 4, Branch symbol replaces the Bulls yoked to a plough. The symbols occur on one side only and the reverse is blank. In a few cases four symbols appear on both sides, where those on one side appear very indistinct and faded. In the case of these rare coins it appears that when the original symbols became worn out, a new set of four symbols was stamped on the original blank reverse.²

The coins of the Singavaram hoard bear a curious resemblance to those of the Paila hoard discovered in the Kheri district of U.P. Both have only four symbols on the obverse, among which the Sun and the Six-armed symbol, so common on most of the varieties of the punch-marked coins, are conspicuous by their absence. The coins of the Paila hoard, however, follow the 24 *ratti* standard, whereas those of the Singavaram hoard are struck to the

¹ JNSI, xv, 35.

² Trans. of International Num. Conf., 1936, p. 395.

standard of 32 *rattis* or about 56 grains. There is a greater resemblance between the coins of the Singavaram hoard and those of the Sonepur hoard discovered in Orissa. Both are half-Paṇas, weighing about 20 to 25 grains each. The Sun and the Six-armed symbol are absent from both. Both have the Elephant and a pair of Bulls yoked to a plough among their symbols. It is likely that these coins may be a pre-Mauryan issue. Such coins as those found in the Sonepur hoard may possibly have been issued by the Nandas after their conquest of Orissa and the type may have been later imitated and modified in Āndhra-deśa, as suggested by the Singavaram hoard. The number of symbols on the Singavaram hoard coins is also four, but they are in relief and not in depression, as is the case with the coins in the Sonepur hoard.

The remaining hoards of punch-marked coins found in the Deccan are of the usual type, having five symbols on the obverse and weighing about 52 grains each. They are Kārshāpaṇas of the 32 *ratti* standard. An analysis of 2,846 punch-marked coins in the Madras Museum shows that about 20 per cent. of them belong to the pre-Mauryan type of five-symbol coins, and the rest to the Mauryan varieties.¹ The same is probably true of other hoards found in the Deccan.

The Mauryan punch-marked coins of the Deccan seem to have been introduced into that country as a natural consequence of the Mauryan conquest. Pre-Mauryan five-symbol punch-marked coins were not withdrawn from circulation by the Mauryas, and so some of them must have travelled to the Deccan with the Mauryan armies. They are therefore naturally found in the Deccan, though in a small percentage.

How long punch-marked coins remained in circulation in the Deccan is a difficult question to answer. The Śātavāhanas introduced their own coinage soon after the establishment of their dynasty, but this did not oust the punch-marked silver currency. Down to c. A.D. 110 the Śātavāhanas issued coins in lead and copper only, and these of course could not take the place of silver punch-marked coins. During the second century A.D. four Śātavāhanas kings issued silver coins, but they are extremely rare and were perhaps intended to meet the needs of northern Mahārāshtra and Gujarāt, which were accustomed to a silver currency. Punch-marked coins, therefore, may have continued to circulate in the Deccan even after the disappearance of the Mauryan rule. In the Mambalam hoard, found in Madras, there were 770 punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan type, together with one coin of Augustus. In the Tondananathan hoard found in the South Arcot district there were twenty-seven punch-marked coins in association with three *aurei* of Tiberius. It is therefore clear that punch-marked silver coins continued in circulation down to the end of the first century A.D. The majority of them were struck by the usual method of first preparing flans of the requisite weight and size and then punching the symbols on them. But in some localities, as at

¹ I owe this information to Miss Varaja of the Madras Museum.

Kondapur, moulds were used and punch-marked coins were cast from them. In the Kondapur excavations, both the moulds and the punch-marked silver coins cast from them were discovered; their date is approximately the first century A.D.

There is no archaeological evidence to show that silver punch-marked coins continued in circulation in the Deccan after c. A.D. 200. A verse in the *Nārada-smṛiti* (c. A.D. 500) states that the silver *Kārshāpaṇas* were then current in the south.¹ But so far we have not found any punch-marked coins which can be confidently ascribed to so late a date.

Some copper punch-marked coins have been found in Malwa, as also cast copper coins. But none of these have so far been found in the Deccan.

Roman Coins in the Deccan

There was steady and continuous trade between the ports on the coast of *Āndhra-deśa* and the Roman Empire, and several Roman coins have been found in the Deccan at places like Athirāla in the Cudappah district; Gumad, Kolpad, Salihundam in the Vizagapattan district; Mallyapalem, Ongole, and Vinukonda in the Guntur district; Nāgārjunikoṇḍā and Vidyadurrapuram in the Krishna district; Nadyal in the Kurnul district, and Garparti in the Nalgonda district.² The Roman emperors represented in the hoards were ruling during the first and second centuries A.D. and their coins are found in territories over which the *Sātavāhanas* were ruling. The *Sātavāhana* currency, however, remained uninfluenced by the patterns and designs of the Roman coinage; no gold or silver coins were minted in the Deccan in imitation of the Roman types.

II

SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

Among the ruling families of the Deccan, no other house has left us so varied and numerous a coinage as the *Sātavāhana* dynasty. The *Sātavāhanas* issued coins usually in lead and copper. They minted no gold coins and their silver coins are very rare.

The *Sātavāhana* coinage occurs in great quantity and usually it shows no foreign influence. But it also shows hardly any artistic merit or originality. Busts of the issuers do not appear on copper and lead coins. Silver coins were issued only by four rulers, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsisthīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi, and Gautamīputra Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi, and only eight specimens of these have been found so far. Some of them show good portraits and are not without some skill in design. The representations of the lion, the horse, the bow and arrow, the elephant, the homo sign, &c.,

¹ *Kārshāpaṇa dakṣiṇāyām dīti ranjyaḥ pravartate*, i, 37.

² *Ancient India*, ii, 116 ff.

which figure among Sātavāhana motifs, are usually very crude and inartistic. Some of the coins bear legends, but usually they are either too fragmentary or too short to help in the reconstruction of history. The Sātavāhanas did not borrow the practice of their northern neighbours, the Western Kshatrapas, of introducing the name of the father of the issuer. Thus it is often difficult to identify the ruler concerned, since there were in many cases several kings of the same name, such as Kaṇha, Sātakarṇi, Pulomā, Svātikarṇa, &c. There are also various kings of the dynasty, for example Simuka, Pūrṇotsaṅga Lambodara, Hāla, and Maṇḍalaka, who are not represented in the coinage; on the other hand there are some kings like Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Śaka Sātakarṇi, and Karṇa Sātakarṇi, who are known from the coinage alone and are unknown to the Purāṇas and the inscriptions. It is no doubt often true that the Purāṇas, inscriptions, and coins help to some extent in reconstructing the history of the dynasty, but sometimes the data which they afford merely serve to introduce uncertainty, since in several cases there is no mutual agreement.

We propose to describe only the important types of coins issued by the rulers of the dynasty.

Early Sātavāhana Rulers

The question as to which king initiated the Sātavāhana coinage cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. The third king of the dynasty, according to the Paurāṇic list, was Sātakarṇi, and he was a powerful ruler known as the lord of the entire Deccan. It is usually assumed that the copper and lead coins which bear the legend *Siri Sāta* or *Sātakarṇi* or *Sātakarṇa* were issued by him. The palaeographical evidence of these coin legends suggests that they were minted some time during the period 150 to 50 B.C.

The Paurāṇic list, however, shows that there were several kings of the dynasty who bore the name of Sātakarṇi. The sixth ruler had this same name and it is possible to argue that kings like Meghasvāti, Svāti, Skandasvāti, and Svātikarṇa, the 9th, the 10th, the 11th, and the 14th in the Paurāṇic list, may also have abbreviated their names into Sāti or Sāta and issued some of the coins bearing the legends Sāta or Sāti.

During the last decade three coins of a king named Sātavāhana have come to light; one of these was found at Kondapur and the other two were probably obtained in the former Hyderabad State. Professor V. V. Mirashi holds that the king Sātavāhana who issued these coins was the founder of the dynasty and ruled earlier than the king Sāta or Sātakarṇi of the coins mentioned earlier. The Paurāṇic list of kings in fact does not mention Sātavāhana as the founder of the dynasty, but inscriptions describe it as the Sātavāhanakula,¹ suggesting that it was brought into prominence first by Sātavāhana. It is quite possible that Sātavāhana was an earlier or immediate predecessor

¹ *EI*, viii, 93.

of Simuka, the first king, and he might have issued these coins which bear his name. The fact that his coins are found so far only in the Hyderabad territory, while those of Sāta or Sātakarṇi are found in Western India, Malwa and Tripuri, would seem to show that the latter was a later prince, who ruled the empire after it had expanded beyond the Vindhya. Sātavāhana was an earlier ruler and might have been the founder of the house. A son of queen Nāganikā, who was the wife of the third king of the dynasty, was also named Sātavāhana, and might perhaps have been called after an earlier and more glorious ancestor.

Unless, however, more decisive evidence should become available, the above theory cannot be accepted. If king Sātavāhana of the new coins was indeed a predecessor of Simuka, one wonders why coins of Simuka and his brother Kṛishṇa should also not have been found. Secondly, it is quite possible that king Sātavāhana of the coins in question might have been one of the sons of Nāganikā, whose name actually occurs in the Nanaghat inscriptions. Pūrṇotsaṅga, who is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the successor of the first Sātakarṇi, might have been his *biruda*. Until we get further evidence, we cannot solve this problem.

We shall now proceed to describe the chief types of Sātavāhana, Sāta, Sāti, and Sātakarṇa.

Coins of Sātavāhana

Elephant type

Copper; square; 0.80 in.; 110 grains; Malwa; *JNSI*, vii, 1.

Obv. Elephant with trunk upraised; legend, diagonally across the coin, *Raño siri Sadavaha[na]*.

Rev. Ujjain symbol and some other minor symbols.

Pl. LXII, 5.

Lead; oval; 1.1 × 0.35 in.; 98.9 grains; from Kondapur; *JNSI*, xi, 5.

Obv. Elephant, facing right, with trunk hanging down; legend, *Siri Sadavaha[na]*.

Rev. Big Ujjain symbol, with a circle between two orbs.

Pl. LXII, 6.

Coins of Sāta

Elephant type

Lead; round; 1.5 in.; 101 grains; Malwa; *BMC AK*, p. 1, pl. i, 1.

Obv. Elephant standing to right; below, River with fish; above, the legend *Raño siri Satasa*.

Rev. Blurred (not illustrated).

Pl. LXII, 7.

Homo type

Potin; round; 0.8 in.; 86 grains; Western India; *BMC AK*, p. 1, pl. i, 2.

Obv. Man standing facing l.; Ujjain symbol; legend, *Raño siri Satasa*.

Rev. Elephant standing to right; above, Tree within railing; in front, Three-arched Hill; below, River.

Pl. LXII, 8.

JNSI, iv, pl. ii, 4-6, publishes three other Elephant type coins of Siri Sāta from the Allahabad Municipal Museum. Their provenance is unknown.

*Coins of Sāti**Homo type*

Lead; round; 1.01 in.; 218.7 grains; from Tripuri; *JNSI*, xiii, 35, pl. ii, 13.

Obv. Homo sign on left; Ujjain symbol in centre; legend, XI to VIII, *Raño siri Sātasa*.

Rev. From left to right, Three-arched Hill; Tree within railing; River with fish placed vertically; and again Three-arched Hill. (Not illustrated.)

*Coins of Sātakana or Satakani**Elephant type*

Copper; round; 0.9 in.; 211.8 grains; provenance unknown; *JNSI*, iv, 27, pl. ii, 7.

Obv. Elephant with trunk upraised walking to left; Svastika above it; circular legend, *Sātakani*.

Rev. Faint traces of tree in railing.

Pl. LXII, 9.

Square potin coins with Elephant with trunk upraised on the obv. and Tree within railing and Ujjain symbol on the reverse, found in Western India, have the legend . . . *kanisa*. They may have been issued by this ruler. See *BMCAK*, p. 3, pl. i, 9.

Lion type

Potin; square; 0.75 in.; 83 grains; Bhagwanlal collection; *BMCAK*, pl. i, 9.

Obv. Lion springing to r. Svastika above; legend reversed [*Raño Sātakaniṣa*].

Rev. Within square border of dots, Ujjain symbol surmounted by Nandipada; Tree within railing.

Pl. LXII, 10.

Homo type

Copper; round; 0.92 in.; 109.3 grains; from Tripuri; *JNSI*, xiii, 36, pl. ii, 14.

Obv. Homo sign on left; Ujjain symbol in centre; legend from VII to X, *Raño siri Sātakaniṣa*.

Rev. Three-arched Hill, a vertical line, probably indicating a Tree; Tree within railing; Three-arched Hill.

Bull type

Lead; round; 0.9 in.; 282 grains; Hyderabad region; *JNSI*, viii, 18, pl. ii A, 1.

Obv. Humped Bull in the centre with a blurred triangle-headed standard in front; legend above the Bull, *Raño sara Sātakaniṣa*.

Rev. Tree within railing; Triangle-headed banner; Svastika, &c.

The Bull type bears a striking resemblance to the Bull type of Sadakaṇi Kaḷalāya (Pl. LXIV, 8). The arrangement on the obverse of the Bull and the legend are both strikingly similar, though the Bull faces to the left on the coin of Kaḷalāya and to the right on the coin of Sātakarṇi. The tree with large leaves on the reverse of both coins is similar, though other symbols are different. These coin types show that the rulers named were not far removed from each other in time, and indeed it is most probable that Sadakaṇi Kaḷalāya was actually the father-in-law of Sātakarṇi.

The coins of Sātakarṇi found in Gujarāt and published in *JNSI*, xii, 26,

would appear to be the issue of some later ruler such as Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi or Yajña-śrī-Śātakarṇi.

Coins of Apīlaka and Meghasvāti

According to the Paurāṇic list of kings there were thirteen rulers between Śātakarṇi II and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, but we have discovered the coins of only two of them, Apīlaka and Meghasvāti. Of these Apīlaka is represented only by a single coin found in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The Purāṇas do not attach any affix to the name of Apīlaka; the coin on the other hand supplies the affix Śiva-siri. This fact, however, does not justify us in assuming that these names belong to two different rulers. Copper coins do not as a rule travel long distances; the discovery of the coin of Apīlaka in the Bilaspur district is probably a proof that the Śātavāhana kingdom was fairly extensive even during this period, of which we have no other records. We shall now describe this unique coin.

Copper; round; 1 in.; 65 grains; Bilaspur district; *JASB*, 1927, 94N.

Obv. Elephant walking to right; an indistinct symbol above, circular legend, *Raño Śiva-sirisāpīlakasa*.

Rev. Blank (not illustrated).

Pl. LXII, 11.

It is possible that the square lead coin having a Bull or Horse on the obverse with the reverse obliterated (*BMC AK*, p. 28) may have been a coin of Meghasvāti, the successor of Apīlaka according to the Purāṇas. The legible part of the legend reads *ghasada*, and this may stand for [Me]ghasada or Meghasvāti.

Later Śātavāhanas

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who reasserted the Śātavāhana power, naturally issued a large number of coins. His coinage is mostly in potin and his most popular type shows an Elephant with trunk upraised with the legend above on the obverse (Pl. LXII, 12) and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse.¹ Out of 1,160 coins of this type in the Tarhala hoard, on which the legend was legible, 525 belonged to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Though the legend on these coins is only *Śātakaṇisa*, their attribution to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is fairly certain; for the same hoard contained other coins with the full legend *Raño siri Yajña Śātakaṇisa*.

Potin coins found in Western India with an Elephant on the obverse and a Tree with large leaves on the reverse seem to have faint traces of the legend *Raño siri Śātakaṇisa* on them (*BMC AK*, p. 17). They were most probably issued by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

Some lead and potin coins have been found in southern Gujarat at Karavan and Kamrej, which have traces of the indistinct legend, *Raño siri Śātakaṇisa*. Very probably these coins were struck by Gautamīputra Śāta-

¹ *BMC AK*, No. 171; the weight of this coin is 36.3 grains.

karṇi after his conquest of Nahapāṇa. These pieces have either an Elephant or a Lion on one side and the Ujjain symbol or a Tree within a railing on the other (*JNSI*, xii, 28-29).

When Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi crushed the power of Nahapāṇa and annexed his kingdom, he took the rather unusual step of recalling the silver currency of his vanquished foe and stamping it with his own symbols, bust, and legend. A hoard of about 13,250 such counterstruck silver coins was discovered at Jogalthembi near Nasik in 1906. On the original hemidrachms of Nahapāṇa the obverse had a bust of the king with a corrupt Greek legend RANNIW LAHAPATAC NAHAṆANAC (giving a transliteration of the Indian legend); and the reverse had Thunderbolt, Arrow, and Pellet with legends both in Brāhmī and Kharoshthī *Rājño Kshaharātasa Nahapānasa* and *Raño Chhaharatasa Nahapanasa* respectively (Pl. LXII, 13). Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi counterstruck one side with Chaitya and his own legend and other with the Ujjain symbol. We describe and illustrate below two such coins.

Silver; round; 0.65 in.; 35.6 grains; *BMC AK*, no. 255

Obv. Chaitya superimposed over the bust of Nahapāṇa; Brāhmī legend, beginning at XII, *Raño Gotamī . . . ri Satakarṇisa*; traces of Greek legend.

Rev. Ujjain symbol struck over the reverse of Nahapāṇa's coin, leaving traces of Brāhmī and Kharoshthī legends, *Raño Khaharatasa Nahapanasa*.

Pl. LXII, 14.

Silver; round; 0.65 in.; 31.2 grains; *BMC AK*, no. 257.

Obv. Chaitya superimposed over the reverse of Nahapāṇa-type; Brāhmī legend, beginning at XI, *Raño Gotamīputara*; traces of Brāhmī *Nahapanasa* and Kharoshthī *hapanasa* of the original legend are also visible.

Rev. Ujjain symbol counterstruck over the face of Nahapāṇa; faint traces of corrupt Greek legend.

Pl. LXII, 15.

When Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi found a silver currency so profusely in circulation in the new provinces annexed by him, did he himself then proceed to issue his own independent silver coinage? It is by no means improbable that he did so, and in fact a unique silver coin was published by the present writer, which has on it an incomplete legend containing the word *Gotamī*. But Gautamīputra was also the matronymic of a later ruler named Yajñaśrī, and since the legend on the piece in question is incomplete, it is difficult to say whether it contained or did not contain the name Yajña-śrī. Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī's silver coinage, however, has usually a bust on the obverse and is therefore of a different type; it is thus not improbable that the present coin may indeed have been struck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

We describe the coin below.

Silver; round; 0.7 in.; 30 grains; from Ujjayinī; *JNSI*, viii, 111.

Obv. Six-arched Hill with dot in each orb on a platform; Brāhmī legend commencing from the top of the hill, *Raño Gotamī*.

Rev. Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Pl. LXII, 16.

Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's son and successor Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi has left us a fairly large number of coins. The Tarhala hoard of 1,160 legible pieces contained 175 coins of this king and the Chanda hoard of 183 coins had 24 pieces issued by him. They are of the Elephant and Chaitya type, the legend being *Puḷumavi(sa)* (Pl. LXIII, 1). This type has already been referred to. The type of round lead coins, which he had issued for *Āndhra-deśa*, had a Three-arched Hill above a wavy line with the legend *Raño Vasiṣṭhīputasa siri Puḷumavisa* on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Pl. LXIII, 2-3). The weights of these coins vary from 78 to 85 grains. The Ship-mast type, once attributed to this ruler (*BMC AK*, p. 22), has now been shown to be an issue of Yājñaśrī Sātakarṇi; see p. 796.

A silver coin of this ruler was found in the river-bed at Bhelsa in 1949. We describe it below; its size has been magnified in the Plate.

Silver; round; 0.65 in. in diameter; 28 grains; *JNSI*, xiv, 1.

Obv. Bust of king to right; circular legend around beginning at I [*Vasithi*] *putasa sara* . . .

Rev. In the middle, Ujjain symbol and six-arched Chaitya; legend, fragmentary and blurred, but *siri Puḷu* clear from VIII to XI.

Pl. LXIII, 4 (enlarged).

The nose of the king is aquiline and the portrait shows grim determination in the face.

Śivaśrī

According to the Purāṇas, Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Śivaśrī and we may reasonably identify this ruler with Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī of the lead coins found in *Āndhra-deśa*. On his coins, which weigh about 90 grains, the obverse shows a Three-arched Hill and River with the legend *Raño Vasiṣṭhīputra Śivaśirisa*, and the reverse has an ornamental Ujjain symbol (Pl. LXIII, 5).¹ Rapson read at the end of the legend the word *Sātakaṇiśa*, but it is not visible on any coin known to us. Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī was probably a brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and might have ruled as a sub-king in *Āndhra-deśa*.

Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi

Śivaśrī was succeeded, according to the Purāṇas, by Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, and we may reasonably identify this prince with King Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Chandra Sāti or Sri Chandra Sāti known from coins found in *Āndhra-deśa*. He also was probably a brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi ruling over a small fief in *Āndhra-deśa*. On one of his coins we have a Three-arched Hill and the Ujjain symbol and on the other a Horse to the right and the Ujjain symbol.

¹ *BMC AK*, 29.

Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi

It will be convenient here to discuss a silver coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi published by the present writer in *JNSI*, xi, 59. Very probably he was a brother of Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi who succeeded him as supreme overlord. I had once thought that he might be identical with Śiva-śrī-Sātakarṇi, whose coins we have discussed above, but we cannot be sure about this point. We shall now describe his unique silver coin.

Silver; round; 0.6 in.; 28 grains; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, *JNSI*, xi, 59, pl. ii, 5.

Obv. Bust of the king to right; circular legend beginning at I *Raño Vasishṭhīputasa*.

Rev. Ujjain symbol; Six-arched Hill, River, &c.; legend starting at XII, *Ara . . . na Hatakanisha*.

The reverse legend is probably identical with that on the obverse, but is in a different script and dialect. Pl. LXIII, 6.

Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was the son-in-law of Rudradāman and seems to have been the first Sātavāhana king to imitate the bust type coinage of the Western Kshatrapas.

Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi

In the Paurāṇic list Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi succeeds Śiva-Skanda Sātakarṇi, and we can therefore confidently identify him with the Gautamīputra Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi of the coins. There was a revival of the Sātavāhana power during his reign and it is reflected in his coinage. He issued several types of coins and they have been found over a large area.

In the Andhra country, lead coins of this ruler are found in large numbers. One type is that of the Three-arched or Six-arched Hill above a river on the obverse with the legend giving the king's name, occasionally along with some symbols. The reverse has the Ujjain symbol (Pl. LXIII, 7).¹ These coins are in different denominations, as suggested by their varying weights, such as 244, 72, 40, 20 grains. The full legend on this type is *Raño Gotamīputasa siri Yajña Sātakanisa* (Pl. LXIII, 7-8).

Another type in lead (?) struck by this ruler in the Āndhra-deśa has a Horse on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Sometimes there is a crescent above the Horse; sometimes the Horse faces left, and sometimes to the right (Pl. LXIII, 9). The legend is intended to be *Raño Gotamīputa (Yajña) Sātakanisa*.

A third lead type minted in the Āndhra-deśa shows an Elephant, facing right, with the trunk hanging down on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Pl. LXIII, 10).

Yajña-śrī issued a fairly large number of potin coins of the Vidarbha type,

¹ Pl. LXIII, 7 is *BMCAR*, 140 and Pl. LXIII, 18 is *BMCAR*, 139. Their weights are 83.5 and 71 grains respectively.

showing an Elephant with the trunk upraised on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Pl. LXIV, 1-2).¹ The Chanda hoard of 183 coins contained 42 pieces of Yajña-śrī and the Tarhala hoard of 1,125 legible coins had 248 pieces of this ruler. The legend is *siri Yaña Sata* and the average weight is 41 grains.

The lead coins of the type with a Ship with two masts were ascribed for a long time to Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi, though it was admitted that the reading of the name of this king was by no means certain. Fresh coins since discovered show that the issuer of these coins was in fact Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi. We describe the type below; the photograph in the plate is an enlarged one.

Lead; 0.8 in.; 125.7 grains; JNSI, iii, 43.

Obv. Ship with two masts; legend *Raṇa Sāmisa siri Yaña Satakarṇisa*.

Rev. Ujjain symbol.

Pl. LXIV, 3.

One of these coins was found in the Coromandel coast area and the other in the Guntur district.

Yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi issued silver coins imitating the Kshatrapa type. Originally only three such coins were known, of which one came from Sopara near Bombay and the second from Amreli in Kathiwar; the findspot of the third is unknown. Subsequently a fourth coin was discovered at Besnagar by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and a fifth one was afterwards acquired near Tripuri by Dr. Katare.

We shall describe this important type:

Silver; round; 0.6 in.; weight not known; Sopara, BMCAC, vii E. 1.

Obv. Bust of king to right; legend in ordinary Brāhmī characters, *Raño Gotamīputasa siri-Yaña Sātakarṇisa*.

Rev. Ujjain symbol surmounted with a crescent; Six-arched crescented Hill to right; River below. Sun above. Legend in a different script and dialect, [. . .] *Gotamīputasha hiru Yaña Hatakarṇisha*.

Pl. LXIV, 4.

The reverse legend was read by R. G. Bhandarkar (B.G., I, ii, p. 153) as *Gotamīputa Kumara Yaña Sātakarṇi Chaturapaṇasa*, 'of Chaturapaṇa Yajña Sātakarṇi, prince of Gotamīputra', the reverse legend giving the name of the prince viceroy Chaturapaṇa and the obverse one of the ruling king Yajña-śrī. Bhagwanlal Indraji read it [*Chaturapaṇasa*] *Gotamīputasha kumaru Yaña Hātakarṇi*. He thought that the legend showed that Yajña-śrī was the son of Chaturapaṇa. D. R. Bhandarkar's reading was *Gotamīputa Kshahara Yaña Hāta(karṇi)*. He connected Kshaharu with Chhahara occurring in the Taxila plate of Patika.²

It may be pointed out that the lacuna on the coin is not sufficient to accommodate a word of five Nāgarī letters such as Chaturapaṇa. Only three letters could have been engraved and these were probably *Araka* (*Āryaka*, honourable). The word *kumaru* does not exist; in the reverse legend the

¹ BMCAC, 166, 165.

² ASIAR, 1913-14, p. 217.

three characters read *shaharu*. The reverse legend is identical with that on the obverse except that it uses *araka* instead of *raño*, and *hiru* instead of *siri*, and *Hatakaispha* instead of *Satakaṇṣa*.

Vijaya and Chandaśrī Sātakaṇṣi

According to the Purāṇas, Yajñaśrī was succeeded by Vijaya and the latter by Chandaśrī Sātakaṇṣi. Coins of both these kings were discovered in the Tarhala hoard; they show the Elephant with trunk upraised on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The name of Vijaya appears without any change in the coin legend; the Sanskrit original of Chandaśrī was probably Skandaśrī. Coin No. 179 in *BMCAK*, though attributed to Rudra Sātakaṇṣi, is probably an issue of this ruler. The first character in the legend is off the flan and so does not appear.

The last king of the Paurāṇic list is Puṣumāvi III. Probably the coins of the Tarhala hoard giving the name Pulahamavi were struck by this ruler.

Coins of Kings not mentioned in the Purāṇas

Several kings of the Paurāṇic list are not represented in the coinage shown above. The reverse is also true; some kings of the coins are not represented in the Paurāṇic list or inscriptions. Kumbha Sātakaṇṣi, Śaka Sātakaṇṣi, and Kaṇṣa Sātakaṇṣi of the Tarhala hoard¹ belong to this category. The last-mentioned king is probably identical with king Kaṇṣa Sātakaṇṣi of the *BMCAK*, no. 180.

Kosikīputra Sātakaṇṣi is another king unknown to the Purāṇas but represented in the coinage. The solitary piece of his, known so far, is of the Chanda hoard type, showing an Elephant with the trunk upraised on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse (*JNSI*, VIII, 116). The actual legend is *Kosikīputa Sa*, which is to be completed as *Kosikīputa Sātakaṇṣa*. It is possible to argue that the issuer may not have been a Sātavāhana ruler, the legend being really *Kosikīputasa*, and the proper name being altogether wanting. But the type shows that the issuer was indeed a Sātavāhana ruler and so the last letter *sa* would seem to be the initial character of the word Sātakaṇṣi.

A very big lead coin² 1.55 in. in diameter and weighing 559.5 grains was found in the Godavari district, with one side plain and the other side showing a lion and an incomplete inscription, *Raño . . . varaṣa* (Pl. LXIV, 5). The name . . . vara does not occur in the Paurāṇic list of Andhra kings.

As was the case with most of the ancient empires, the Sātavāhanas controlled a number of feudatory princes, and some of these were permitted to issue coins. One such feudatory family ruled at Kolhapur and is known from the coins of three of its rulers, namely (1) Vāsishṭhīputra Vīlivāyakura, (2)

¹ *JNSI*, II, 90-91.

² *BMCAK*, 4.

Māḍhariputra Śivalakura (Pl. LXIV, 6), and (3) Gotamīputra Viḷivāyakura (Pl. LXIV, 7). No. 3 among the above rulers restrikes the coins of No. 2; and No. 2 those of No. 1. It is therefore clear that the above kings ruled in the order stated above.

These coins have usually a Ten-arched Hill, Tree, and River on the obverse and a Bow and Arrow on the reverse, with the circular legend, *Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa*, &c. (Pl. LXIV, 6-7).¹ Coins were issued both in copper (Pl. LXIV, 6) and lead (Pl. LXIV, 7). It was once supposed that these kings were Sātavāhana rulers and different attempts were accordingly made to identify them with the kings of the Paurāṇic list. Smith identified Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura with the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Māḍhariputra Śivalakura with Śivasvāti, and Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura with Chakora Sātakarṇi, the predecessor of Śivasvāti.

We cannot enter into the details of this controversy. It is essential to point out that the mere matronymics like Gautamīputra and Māḍhariputra cannot make these rulers Sātavāhanas; for example, Gautamīputra and Vāsishṭhīputra appear as epithets of the Magha kings Śivamagha and Bhīmasena; a Mahārathi chief at Karli has the matronymic Vāsishṭhīputra. The rulers who struck the Kolhapur coins need not therefore be identified as Sātavāhanas merely because they are described as Gotamīputra and Vāsishṭhīputra. Ptolemy states that Polemaios of Paithan and Baleokuros of Hippokura were contemporaries. It is clear that Polemaios is the Greek form of Puḷumāvi and that Baleokuros is Viḷivāyakura. These were two different though contemporary kings. It is therefore very likely that the Viḷivayakura and Śivalakura of the Kolhapur coins were members of some local feudatory ruling family.

Another feudatory family attached to the Sātavāhana empire ruled in the Chitaldurg district of Mysore. It issued large lead coins having a Bull on one side and a Tree within a railing and a Three-arched Hill on the other (Pl. LXIV, 8).² Only one king is known from the legends of this coinage, viz. Kaḷalāya-mahārathi. The type of his pieces has a close resemblance to one of the types issued by King Sātakarṇi and described above (p. 791).

Another feudatory family was ruling at this time in the North Canara district. The lead coins of two of its kings have so far come to light, Chūṭukulānanda and Muḍānanda (Pl. LXIV, 9-10). The type is an Eight-arched Hill on one side and a Tree within a railing and double trident on the other.

The legend on Pl. LXIV, 9 is *Raño Chūṭukulānandasa* and that on Pl. LXIV, 10 is *Raño Muḍānandasa*.²

¹ Pl. LXIV, 6 is BMC AK, 31 and weighs 60 grains; Pl. LXIV, 7 is BMC AK, 30 and weighs 164.6 grains.

² Pl. LXIV, 8 is BMC AK, viii. 233 and weighs 211.5 grains; Pl. LXIV, 9 is BMC AK, viii. G.P. 2 and weighs 210.4 grains; and Pl. LXIV, 10 is BMC AK, viii. 236 and weighs 250 grains. Photographs are 10 size.

III

POST-SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE

Introduction

Little is known so far about the post-Sātavāhana coinage of the Deccan. The coins available for study are few in number, and those among them which are inscribed are very much fewer. Types do not help us very much. The Varāha, Padma, and Bull types persisted for many centuries. The Varāha type, for instance, was no doubt first introduced by the Chālukyas, but it was continued by later dynasties as late as the time of Vijayanagar; thus we cannot assign all coins of this type to the Chālukya dynasty. The term Varāha became in the course of time a common synonym for gold currency in general. Pieces of this type must once have been issued in large quantities, but the Varāha coins now available for study are not many. It has been suggested that a fabulous number of them must have been included in the booty carried to Delhi from South India by Malik Kāfūr, leaving very few behind in their province of origin. This explanation does not carry conviction. U.P. was also occupied by the Muslims and yet quite a large number of gold Gupta coins have been found in that State.

There was hardly any silver coinage in Southern India. Nārada no doubt does say, as pointed out above, that silver *kārshāpaṇas* were common in the south, but the archaeological evidence does not support his assertion. Silver bullion or coins are rarely mentioned in connexion with the booty collected by Malik Kāfūr in the Deccan. The dynasties of the Deccan dealt with in this volume rarely issued silver currency. Copper currency of the Deccan of this period is also very scarce.

(1) Early Gold Coins

Smooth and minute spherules with tiny marks consisting of four dots on the obverse and none on the reverse appear to be among the earliest extant gold coins of the Deccan. Their weight is about 52 grains and their diameter about 0.45 in.; they are obviously of the Kalanju denomination, so popular in Southern India. These spherules were known as *gullige* or little balls in old Canarese and several of them were found in the Sunda Pargana of Dharwar district in 1828.¹ There are more than 25 of these in the Hyderabad Museum.² Two spherules are illustrated on Pl. LXV, 1 and 2.

A second early type is that of the *padma-ṭaṅkas*: they are flat and round. They have a lotus in the centre, which gives them their name, and four punched marks on the obverse; of these two are the letters *śrī*, the third is a conch, and the fourth is usually a bow (Pl. LXV, 3).³ In one variety of this

¹ Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 53; pl. i, 2. ² ARHAD, 1925, p. 17. ³ Elliot, pl. i, 7-8.

type we have scroll work stamped from a die on the reverse, and among the punches on the obverse there are two retrospectant lions (Pl. LXV, 19).¹ These coins, which are usually found in Banavasi, are generally attributed to the Kadambas, but the attribution is by no means certain. Their diameter is 1 in. and their weight about 60 grains.

The gold *fanams* having a Bull surmounted by the Sun and the Moon on the obverse and a large Sun on the reverse have been attributed to the early Pallavas, since they are found on the Coromandel coast.² This view is probable but not yet proved.

Some tiny gold coins were found in the Maski excavations, with an Elephant on one side and a Lion on the other. Their attribution is difficult to determine, and the more so as they have not yet been adequately published.³

(2) *The Ikshvāku coinage*

At Nāgārjunikonda, in the excavations of 1955-6, some lead coins of two Ikshvāku kings, Vīrapurushadatta and Śāntamūla, were found; they imitate one of the types of the Sātavāhanas, showing an Elephant with trunk up-raised on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other. The fragmentary legend is above the Elephant.⁴

(3) *The Vākāṭaka coinage*

The Vākāṭakas rose to power soon after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas and were soon ruling over a large part of the former dominion of that dynasty. They must have been familiar with the Sātavāhana coinage, but apparently they did not make any attempt to issue a currency of their own. We have so far found no coins of the dynasty, nor are they referred to in its records.

(4) *The Śālaṅkāyana coinage*

The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled in Āndhra-deśa during the fourth and the fifth centuries. A copper coin of Chandravarman has recently come to light. It has a Bull on the obverse and the legend *Śrī-Chandravarman*, giving the king's name, on the reverse.⁵ Its size is 0.7 in. and weight 94 grains.

The Bull was the *lāñchhana* of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the palaeography of the coin legend belongs to the fifth century. The coin therefore may have been an issue of the Śālaṅkāyanas. The issuer Chandravarman was probably a grandson of Hastivarman, the opponent of Samudragupta.

(5) *The coinage of the Chālukyas of Badāmī*

The Chālukyas, who held sway over the Deccan for several centuries, had accepted the *lāñchhana* of the boar, and there can be no doubt that they initiated the coin type which had the Boar on its obverse. Their currency with

¹ Elliot, pl. ii, 67.

² Ibid., pl. i, 31-36.

³ ARHLD, 1939, p. 18.

⁴ Indian Archaeology, 1955-6, p. 26.

⁵ Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 213-16.

this symbol must have been very common, since Varāha soon became a common word applied to gold coins in general. Not many specimens of this type, however, have been handed down to our age.

We have no inscribed Varāha coins which can be ascribed to any of the rulers of the Chālukya house of Bādāmī. Dr. M. H. Krishna did indeed attribute some uninscribed coins to Pulakeśin II, but the attribution is very doubtful.¹

Some uninscribed gold coins² have been discovered in the Southern Maratha Country and the Bellary district, which have in the centre a Boar surrounded by punched symbols such as a *Śankha* (conch), a *Chakra* (wheel), a Bow, two *Śris* (Pl. LXV, 5). The reverse has some indented lines. There are other coins also found in the same area, having a Boar with trappings on one side and a Floral design (Pl. LXV, 6) or the Sun on the other (Pl. LXV, 7). The weight of these coins varies from 55 to 58 grains and they might possibly have been struck by some rulers of the House of the Chālukyas of Bādāmī.³

(6) *The coinage of the Rāshtrakūṭas*

The Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty was a mighty power; for some time it ruled all the territory from the Vindhya to Rameshwar. On some occasions its armies even penetrated into the Gangetic plain and crossed swords with the forces of northern dynasties like the Pālas and the Pratihāras. Its princes were lovers of art; they built magnificent temples adorned with beautiful sculptures. But it would seem that they were not interested in coinage. At any rate no coins have so far been found, inscribed or uninscribed, which can be definitely attributed to any ruler of the dynasty. Certain silver hemidrachms from Nasik district having a bust of the Kshatrapa type on the obverse and a Bull on the reverse with the circular legend *Parama-māhes'vara-Mātāpitrī-pādānudhyāta-s'ri-Krishnarajasya*⁴ were once attributed to one of the three Rāshtrakūṭa emperors named Kṛishṇa. But these have now been shown to have been the issues of the Kaḷachūri ruler of that name, who flourished during c. A.D. 550-75.

Damma, *suvarṇa*, *gadyāṇaka*, *kaṣāñju*, and *kāsu* are the five coin denominations mentioned in Rāshtrakūṭa records. Of these the last two were not current in the Deccan, but in Southern India. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV mention a gift of 1,400 villages yielding a revenue of seven lakhs of *suvarṇas*;⁵ the average revenue of a village was thus 500 *suvarṇas*. Whether the Rāshtrakūṭa administration issued any gold coins, and whether, like the *suvarṇas* of Northern India of the earlier period, they had a standard weight of eighty *rattis* or 144 grains, we do not know. It is quite possible that the sum of seven lakhs of *suvarṇas*, which was the revenue of 1,400 villages, represented

¹ *ARMAD*, 1933, p. 98.

² Elliot, pl. i. 19; 22.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. i. 21-23.

⁴ V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, vol. iv, pp. cxxx-cxxxii.

⁵ *El*, vii, 26.

the approximate gold value of the land revenue in kind collected from these villages. In that case, *suvarṇa* would have been a conventional coin of account. The *gadyāṇaka* was equal to two *kaṇjanjas* and weighed about 100 grains. No specimens of this coin issued by the Rāshtrakūṭas have yet been found. Dr. M. H. Krishna attributed four gold coins of a weight standard of about 60 grains to the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ These have an elaborate floral design on one side and four lions punched round a tank with lotuses on the other. But as the coins bear no legend, this attribution can only be conjectural.

One Kanheri Rāshtrakūṭa inscription refers to a golden *dramma* and distinguishes it from ordinary *drammas* mentioned earlier.² These ordinary *drammas* were probably silver pieces. The Uruli hoard of Gadhaiya coins discovered in the Poona district belongs to the eighth or the ninth century. Punch-marked types were copied mechanically in the earlier period, and it is not impossible that the Rāshtrakūṭa administration might have merely reproduced the Gadhaiya silver type in this unimaginative way, as was done by the Śilāhāra king Chhittarāja. It is, however, also possible that the Uruli hoard may have been the earnings or loot of some Rāshtrakūṭa captain participating in the northern campaigns of Govinda III or Indra III. The question whether the Rāshtrakūṭas issued any gold or silver currency cannot yet be answered.

(7) *The coinage of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi*

Among the pieces struck by the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi we have gold coins of Jayasīṃha Jagadekamalla (1019-40), Someśvara I Trailokyamalla (1068-76), and Tailapa III (1150, 1182).³ It is quite likely that other rulers of this dynasty issued coins, but if so, they have not so far been found. Dr. M. H. Krishna tentatively suggested that some of the coins with the legend *para* may have been the issues of Tailapa II, but when we remember that the title Parameśvara was common both in the Rāshtrakūṭa and the Chālukya dynasties, his suggestion must remain merely an unproved conjecture for lack of supporting evidence.

Dr. Krishna also attributed certain coins to Vikramāditya VI and others to Someśvara III, but these attributions are also doubtful.⁴

The coins of Jayasīṃha Jagadekamalla occur in two types. In one type we have five Lions punched by five different punches, large Spear-head, and the letters *ja, ja*, obviously standing for Jayasīṃha. In the other type there is a temple in the centre with a domed tower and a *Chakra* above it. Between the pillars of the temple is the Kannaḍa legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī ja ga de*; (2) *ka ma lla* (Pl. LXV, 8). There are nine punches round the temple. The reverse is blank. The diameter of this coin is 1 in. and weight 69 grains.⁵

Someśvara I Trailokyamalla issued coins in two types. On one there are

¹ *ARMAD*, 1933, p. 99

² *IA*, xiii, 133.

³ *ARMAD*, 1933, p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1938, Pl. XXI, 7.

five Lions and *Tre, lo, ma, lla*, punched by separate punches. On the other¹ there is a spearhead with a dot in the centre and four dots to its right standing perhaps for a lotus, and the Nāgarī legend around it (Pl. LXV, 9).

In the treasury of the former state of Bhor there were some gold *padma-ṭaṅkas* on a few of which the legend *Śrī-Lashuma* is legible. It has been suggested that these coins might have been issued by Laksmidevi, the chief queen of Vikramāditya VI.² Coins minted by queens are otherwise so far unknown in the Deccan. These coins seem to be *padma-ṭaṅkas* of the Rāmāṭaṅka variety, bearing the names and figures of some of the Rāmāyāṇa heroes.

(8) *The Kaṣachūri coinage*

The later Chālukyas were superseded by Kaṣachūri Bijjala by about the middle of the twelfth century. After the murder of this king in 1167, he was in turn succeeded by his son Soma or Rāya Murāri. A few rare gold coins have been found in the Satara district, weighing on the average about 55 grains, and having on the obverse a dancing figure facing to the right and on the reverse a legend in three lines in old Canarese characters, of which the second line reads Murāri (Pl. LXV, 10). This coin type had been attributed to the Kaṣachūri ruler Soma or Murāri,³ and the attribution is quite probable.

(9) *The coinage of the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi*

The Eastern Chālukya dynasty was founded by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, the brother of Pulakeśin II, in 618 and maintained its sway continuously for about 450 years. There were 40 kings in the dynasty, but we possess inscribed coins of barely half a dozen of these.

Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana had the *biruda* of Viṣhamasiddhi and it is usual to attribute gold coins with the legend Viṣhamasiddhi to him. This attribution is probable, but not certain, for this same *biruda* was later adopted by some of his successors.

Viṣhamasiddhi's coins are in two types. On one there is a Lion in the centre and the legend *Viṣhamasiddhi* above it in early Chālukya characters. The reverse has a sceptre. The metal is brass, the coin being 0.65 in. in diameter.

The second type is similar to the first, but its reverse has a double Trident within a border of rays, surmounted by a Crescent and flanked by two Lamps (Pl. LXV, 11).⁴ A hoard of these coins was found in Daulatābād in the Nalgonda district of Hyderabad. It weighed in all 4,920 tolas and therefore must have consisted of more than 12,000 coins. These coins are not silver; they are an alloy of 71 per cent. copper and 21 per cent. tin, with iron and zinc in negligible quantities. The average weight is 50 grains.

¹ Ibid., XXI, 9. The diameter of this coin is 1 in. and weight is unknown.

² JNSI, iii, 53.

³ Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 152; pl. iii. 87.

⁴ ARMAD, 1941, p. 108, xx. 1.

Among the later rulers of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty some are known to have issued coins. The first among these to have done so is king Śaktivarman Chālukya-chandra (A.D. 1000-11), whose coins have been known for a long time from the hoards found in the islands of Ramree and Cheduba situated off the coast of Burma and Siam. These coins were probably taken to these places either by pilgrims or by traders. Coins of this ruler have been found more recently at Masulipattan in the Krishna district.¹ His coins are in gold; there is a Boar in the centre with an Umbrella above and a Chouri on either side and the name of the king *Śrī-Chalukyachandra* inscribed all round, each character being separately punched. The diameter of these coins is 1.4 in. and the weight about 66 grains (Pl. LXV. 12).

The kings Rājārāja (A.D. 1018-60) and Rājendra Kulottuṅga (A.D. 1070-1120) also issued coins with the same type. They are rather big, being 1.6 in. in diameter and about 66 grains in weight. They are cup-shaped. A coin of Rājārāja is illustrated on Pl. LXV, 13. Its obverse is like LXV, 12 and around the edge there are six punch-marks with one Telugu-Kannaḍa letter in each, *Śrī Ra ja rā ja sa*.

(10) *The coinage of the Yādavas*

The coins of the Imperial Yādava dynasty were once attributed to the Kadambas, but subsequent discoveries have shown that they were issued by the Imperial Yādavas; this is rendered absolutely certain by the legends inscribed on them, which give the names of all the rulers from Siṅghaṇa onwards, with the exception of Ammaṇa, whose rule lasted only for a few months. These coins are punched on one side only, their reverse being blank, and thus they have become cup-shaped. Their weight is about 57 grains and the diameter measures 0.6 in. The obverse bears a lotus in the centre and four marks punched in four corners. At each end of one diagonal there is the letter *Śrī* in Telugu-Kannaḍa script. At one end of the other diagonal is found the king's name in the Devanāgarī script and at the other end usually a Conch or a Bow or a Sword. *Padmaṭaṅkas* issued by Siṅghaṇa, Mahādeva, Kṛishṇa, and Rāmadeva have been found. The Hyderabad Museum possesses more than 150 of them, which originally belonged to the State Treasury. The hoard discovered at Rachpattan in the Krishna district in 1922 contained 43 coins with the legends Siṅghaṇa, Kaṇhara, Mahādeva, and Rāmadeva.² Three *padmaṭaṅkas* of Siṅghaṇa were found buried in a field in the Kharsia circle of the former Raigarh State together with a coin of Nasiruddīn Mahmūd (1246-66). This find would seem to show that the Yādava sphere of influence included southern Kośala during the reign of Siṅghaṇa.

The name Siṅghaṇa is also spelt as Seghaṇa, that of Kṛishṇa as Kāṇhapa or Kaṇhara, that of Mahādeva as Mahadeva and that of Rāmadeva as Śrī

¹ *IA*, xix, 79.

² *JASB*, n.s., 1925, pp. 6-10.

Rāma. Pl. LXV illustrates the coins of Siṅghaṇa (14-15), Kṛishṇa (16), Mahādeva (17), and Rāmadeva (18) respectively. Their weight is about 58 grains.

(11) *The coinage of the Śilāhāras*

Certain feudatory families of the Deccan also minted scanty coinages during our period. Among these are the Śilāhāras of Western India. King Chhittarāja of the Thana branch of this family issued silver coins of the Gadhāiya type with the bust of the king on the obverse and his own name in two lines, *Sri-Chhittarāja-deva*, on the reverse. A hoard of his coins was discovered below a gutter in Thana (Bombay State).

Two inscribed gold coins came to light during the excavations at Kolhapur in the year 1946. Their weight is 22.5 grains and they have symbols on both sides. On the obverse there is a trident with a hand, whose forks enclose the Sun and the Moon. The reverse shows the figure of a standing Garuḍa facing right, with legs bent, carrying a flowing banner in his left hand and a serpent in his right.¹

The Śilāhāras had Garuḍa as their *lāñchhana*, and thus the reverse motif of these coins and their findspot would seem to indicate that they might have been issued by the Śilāhāras. As, however, they do not bear any legend, it is difficult to ascribe them to any particular ruler.

(12) *The coinage of the Kadambas*

Gold coins of several Kadamba rulers have come to light. On the obverse they have usually a Lion in the centre, with its leg upraised; the reverse has a legend in four or five lines giving the name of the king, who is usually described as the recipient of the favour of Saptakoṭīśa. We illustrate here a gold coin of Jayakeśin II of the first variety (Pl. LXV, 20).

Gold: circular, 1.2 in.; weight unknown; Elliot, Pl. II, 71.

Obv. Within dotted border, Lion looking to front; before it in Nāgarī letters, *Pramoda*, apparently giving the name of the cyclic year of issue.

Rev. Within dotted border, Nāgarī legend in five lines:

(1) *Srisaptako*, (2) *Ṭisalabdhavaravi*, (3) *Jayakesi*, (4) *deva-Mallava*, (5) *ramāri*.

On another variety the central figure is that of Gajasimha and the reverse legend is *Śri-Malaga-Bhairva*. These coins usually weigh between 60 and 65 grams.

(13) *The coinage of the Kākatīyas*

The question of the Kākatīya coinage is veiled in obscurity. Early scholars like Elliot had attributed the coins having a Bull between two candelabra to the Kākatīyas, on the ground that their copper plates have a similar emblem.² But this assumption is now shown to have been mistaken.

¹ JNSI, xiv, 15, pl. iv, 14.

² Elliot, iii, 93-95.

The crest of the dynasty was a Boar. The Kākatiyas were, however, devotees of Śiva and there is therefore nothing improbable in the theory that they adopted the Bull as the main motif on their coinage. But this motif is in fact fairly common in South Indian coinage in general, and its presence therefore does not by itself furnish sufficient justification for ascribing the coins to the Kākatiyas. Recent writers on the subject like Mr. Gopalachari have argued that we have no coins which can be definitely ascribed to the Kākatiyas. The *fanams* ascribed to the dynasty have a modern look and appear to be actually coins struck by the Nāyakas of Madura.

A few coins have been found, bearing fragmentary legends, which have been attributed to various Kākatiya rulers. Certain pieces were found in the Southern Konkan bearing the motif of the Lion. They have legends in Telugu characters; on some coins it is *Balaya-Śrī* and on others *Rudra* written in a circle. These latter coins are commonly attributed to the Kākatiya ruler Rudra.¹ This attribution may well seem probable in view of the fact that the legend is written in Telugu characters; but it is not easy to explain how the coins of a king ruling in Warangal come to be found in the south of the Konkan. We must not forget, however, that gold coins often travel long distances. A copper coin, now lost, is stated to have had the device of the Bull and a fragmentary legend, *Srimat . . . ka . . . kakati . . . Pratāpa-ra . . . ya*.² This piece was attributed to King Pratāpa-Rudra of the Kākatiya dynasty. But the legend seems to be unusually long, and as the coin is no longer in existence, we cannot be sure whether its legend has been correctly reported.

In a treasure-trove found at Kavaiyadavalli³ in the Nellore district, a solitary coin was found weighing 56.23 grains. There was a Lion on its obverse and a fragmentary legend [*Ka*]*ti-gana* in Telugu characters. The attribution of this coin to King Gaṇapati is a possible suggestion, but at present it lacks confirmation.

In the hoard referred to above, three cup-shaped gold coins were found, having apparently had a Lion in the centre and a fragmentary legend, which, when pieced together, seemed to read *rayasamu*. Ambaḍadeva, who had usurped the throne after the death of Rudrambā, bore the title *Rāyasahasramalla*. It is suggested that the legend *rayasamu* may be a contraction of *Rāyasahasramalla* and that these coins might have been struck by him.⁴ But the reading of the legend is by no means certain and therefore we cannot be sure of the attribution.

¹ *JBBRAS*, ii, 63.

² Elliot, p. 85.

³ *J. Andhra His. Soc.* i, 137.

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(b) The dancers, in the same cave.



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The hall of the *chaitya*-cave XXVI, Ajanta, Hyderabad state.



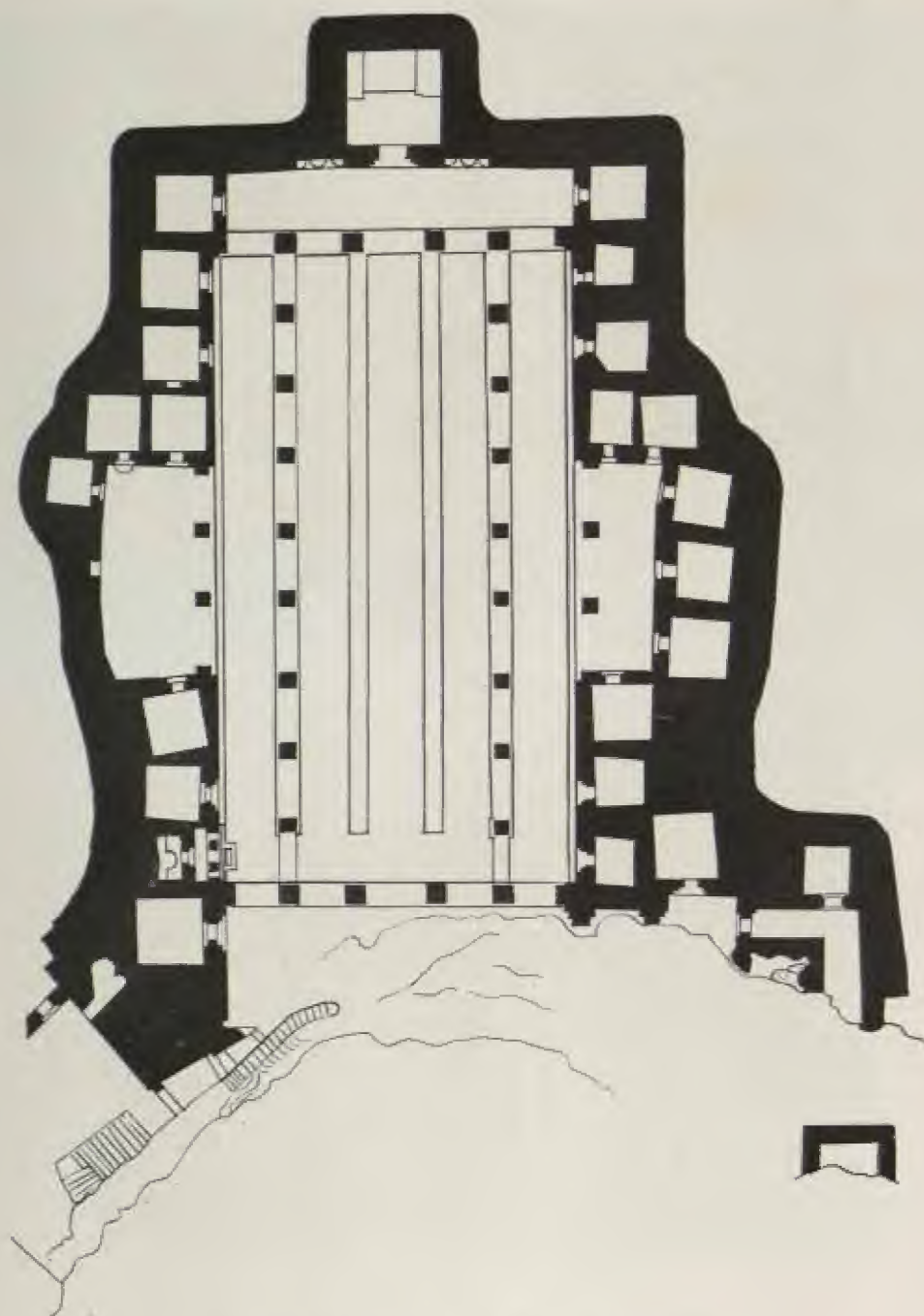
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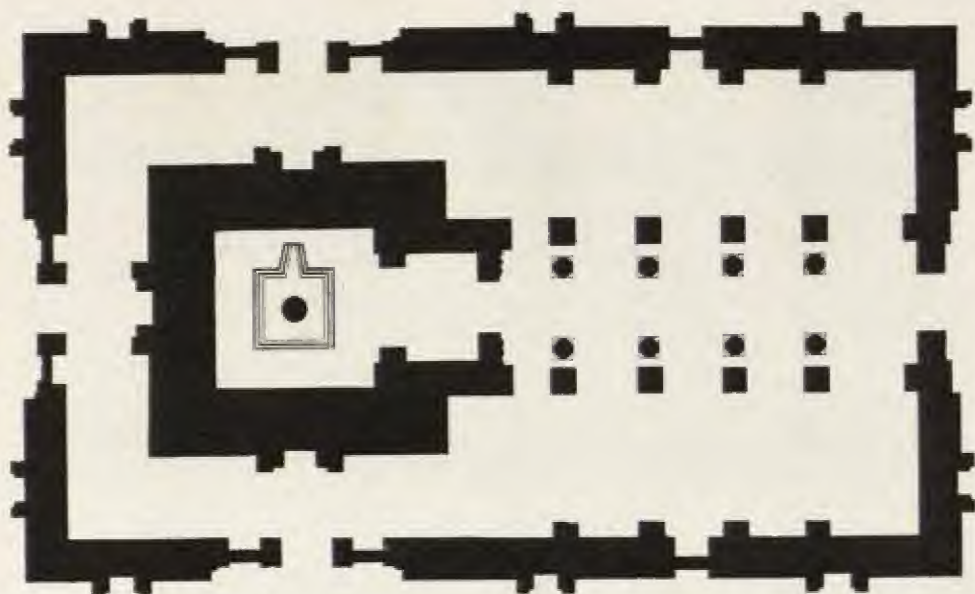
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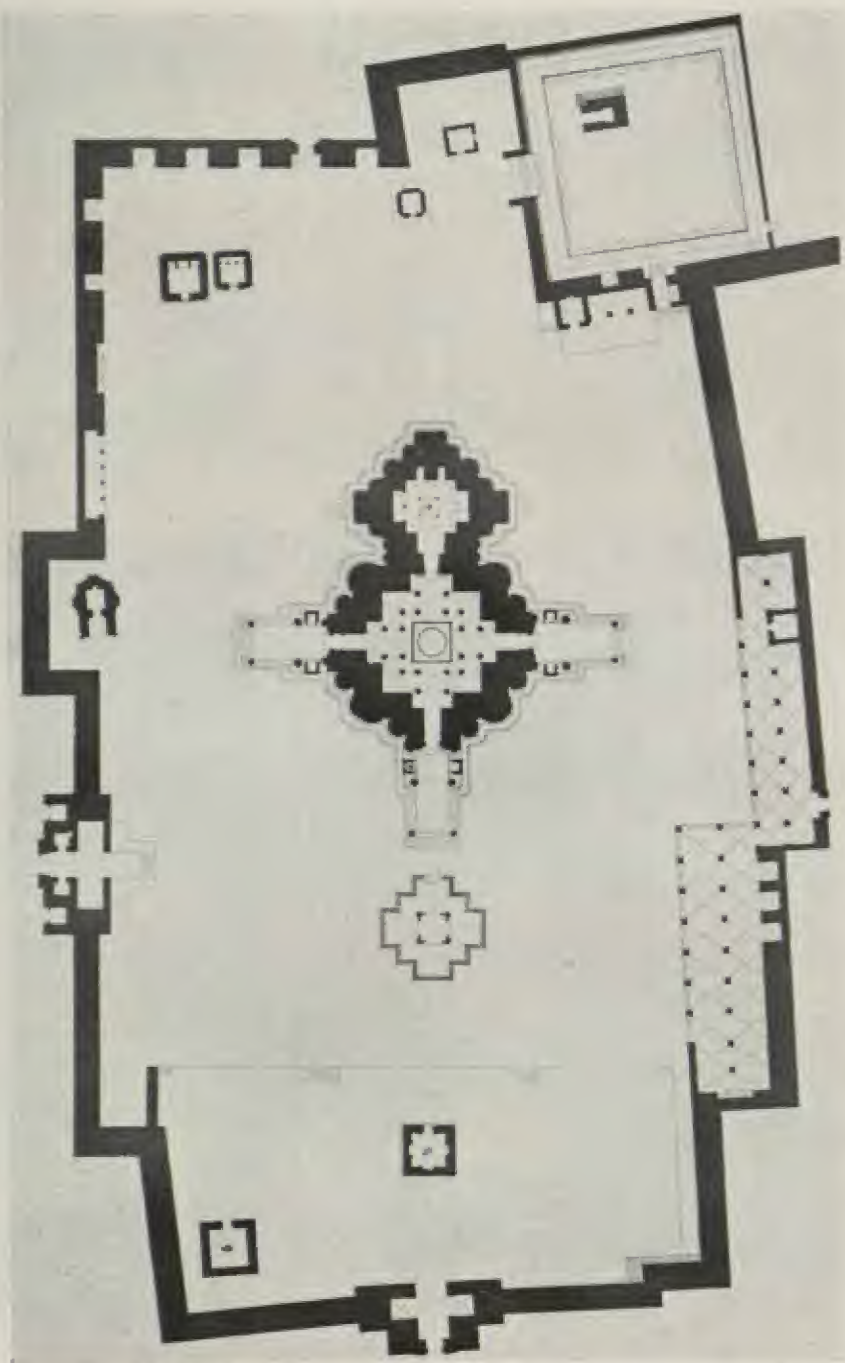
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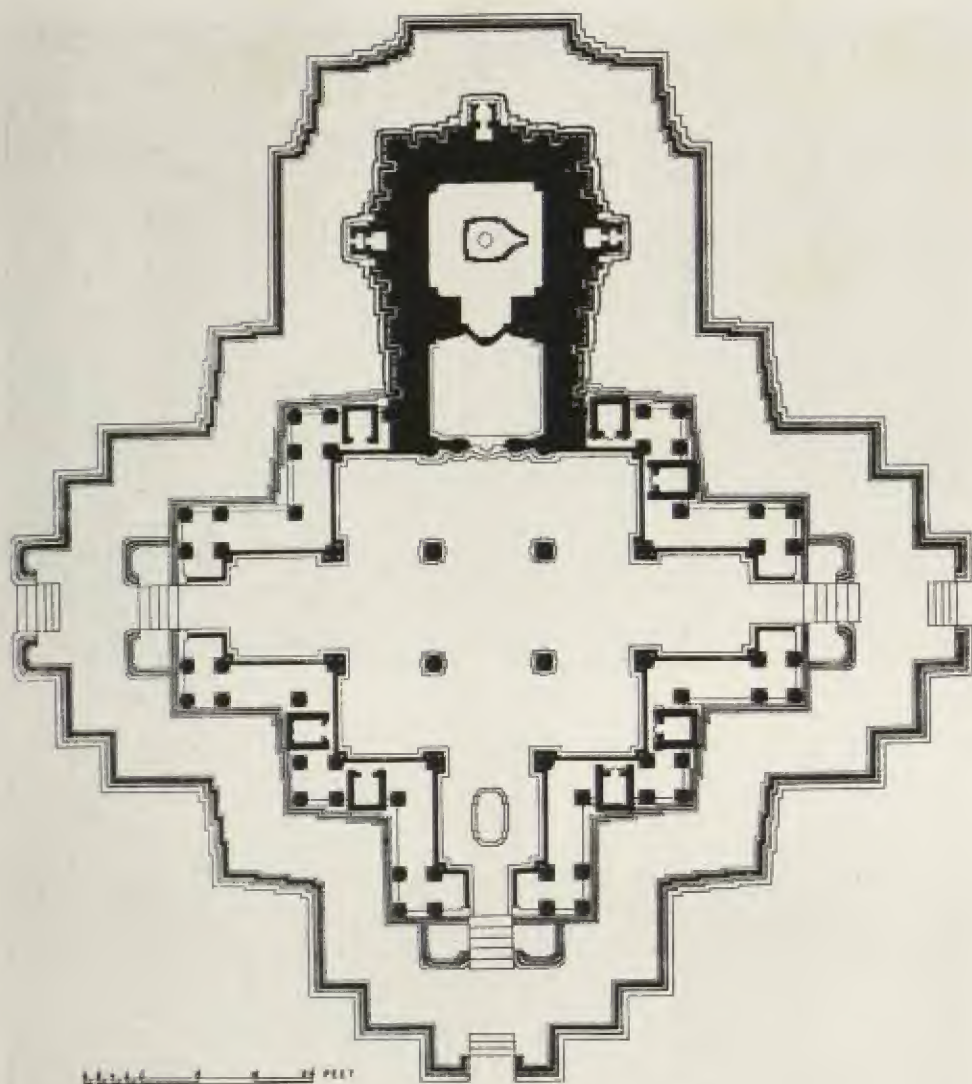
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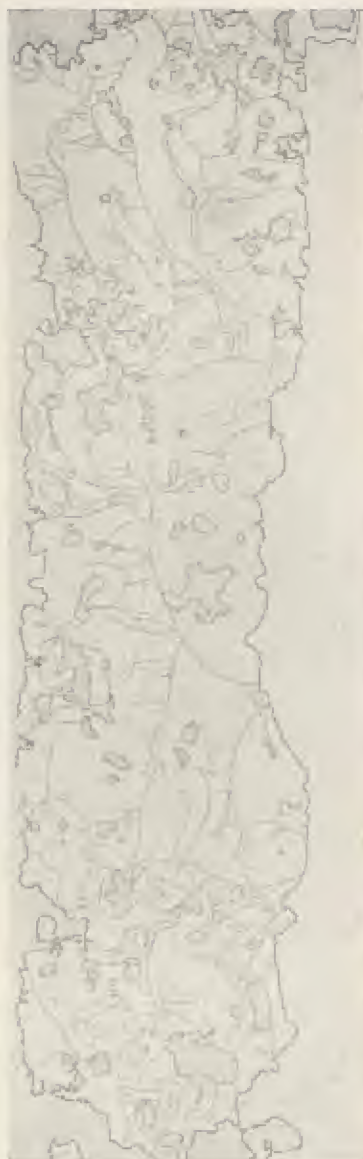
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(a) A dance scene, Cave I, Ajanta, Hyderabad state.



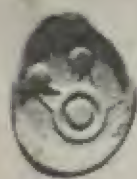
(b) Another dance scene, the same cave.



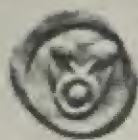
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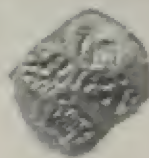
(b) A dancing girl, the temple at Pālampet, Hyderabad state.



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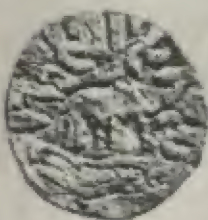
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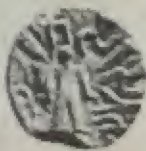
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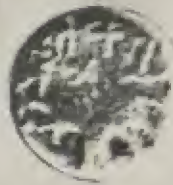
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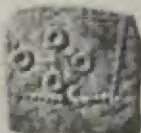
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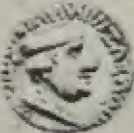
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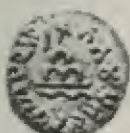
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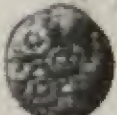
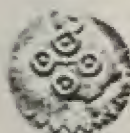
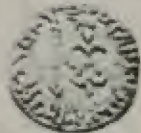
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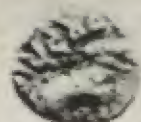


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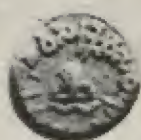


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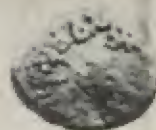




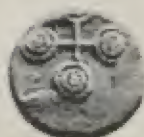
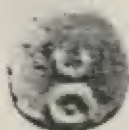
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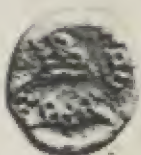
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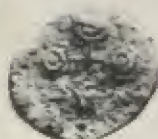
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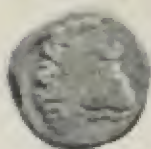
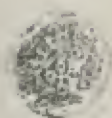
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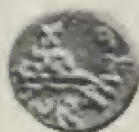
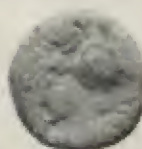
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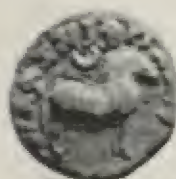
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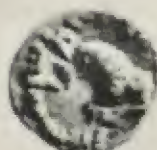
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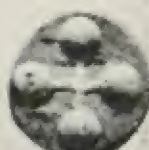
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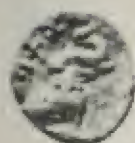


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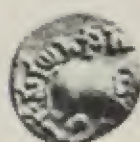
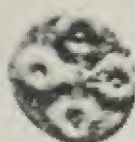


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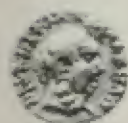
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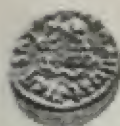
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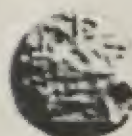
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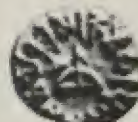
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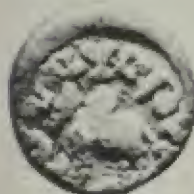
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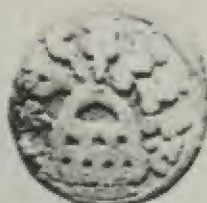
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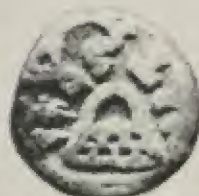
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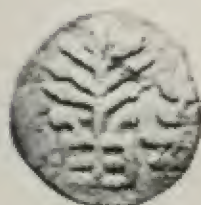
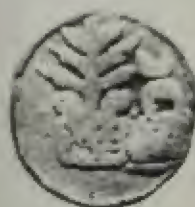
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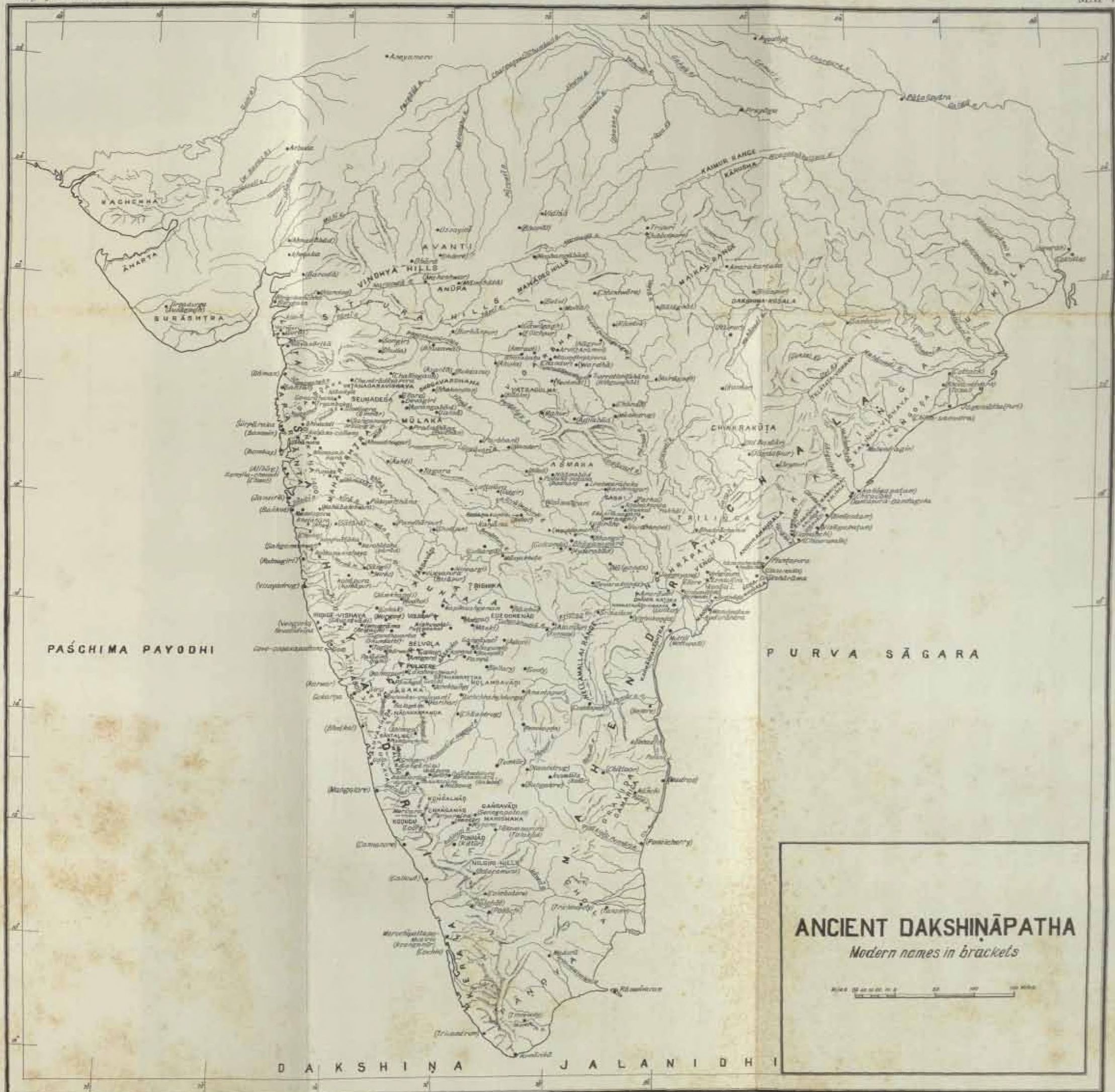
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